

JARUZELSKI

PRIME MINISTER OF POLAND



SELECTED SPEECHES

Interview with Robert Maxwell
and Biographical Sketch

JARUZELSKI

Selected Speeches

Interview with Robert Maxwell
and biographical sketch

LEADERS OF THE WORLD

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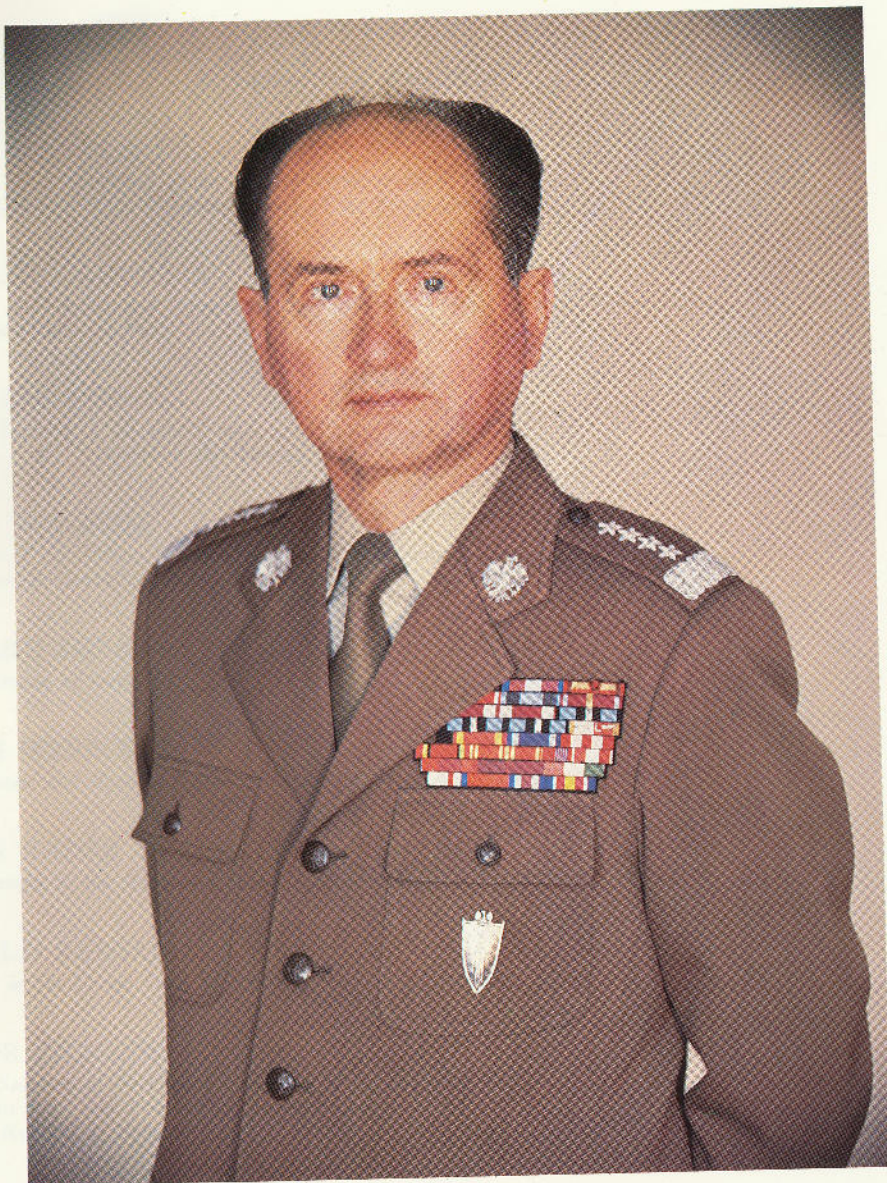
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WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI

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Introduction by Robert Maxwell

DESPITE the importance of Poland as the nation at the crossroads of central Europe, little is known in the West of Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski, his background, achievements, and his aspirations for his country.

Since he was elected Prime Minister in February 1981 he has given Poland a stability and a self-confidence that the country has not enjoyed for many years. The internal political crisis has been largely overcome, economic decline has been arrested. The Government, with the support of the majority of the people, can now concentrate over the next few years on the economic reforms necessary to raise the standards of living of the Polish people, to increase productivity and to reschedule and eventually repay their massive overseas debt.

In an extraordinary interview lasting almost four hours, Prime Minister Jaruzelski discussed in detail, and with precision, his Government's plans for economic reform. These include decentralization of the manufacturing industry, better reward for successful management and workers, increased productivity and a greater response to market forces. His determination, and that of his Government, to implement these reforms shines through. He is proud of Poland's advance to industrialization since the war, and cites the improvements of the last three years as a guarantee that the present plans will be implemented.

Wojciech Jaruzelski is a patriot who has devoted his whole life to the service of his country, both as a soldier and as a politician: an idealist who looks for pragmatic as well as ideological solutions to problems. In himself he is austere and self-disciplined, but in his dealings with others he looks for conciliation rather than confrontation, as his relations with both the outlawed and now less significant Solidarity and the powerful Catholic Church signify. Thanks largely to his leadership, Poland has emerged from civil strife without the blood-bath which so many forecast, and which would have been disastrous for Poland and for the peace of Europe. To save Poland from civil war, and worse, he was prepared both to impose martial law, and, at the right time, to lift it. Although Solidarity is still written about a great deal in the West, it is no longer a threat to the stability of the Government of Poland.

Son of an agricultural engineer, Wojciech Jaruzelski was born in Poland in 1923 and until 1939 was educated at a private secondary school run by Marist priests in Warsaw. On the outbreak of World War II, he and his family moved to Lithuania and then, in 1940, to the north-eastern part of the Soviet Union, where he worked as a labourer. He enlisted as a volunteer in the Polish military formation raised in the USSR in 1943. His brilliant military career is well chronicled from then on.

But it is little appreciated in the West that for most of his life he has been actively involved in the political life of post-war Poland. He joined the Polish Workers' Party in 1947, was first elected to the Central Committee in 1964, and has been a member of Parliament since 1961.

Jaruzelski has a deep sense of history, which he brings to bear in leading Poland and in his external relations. As for all Poles, wartime experiences are etched deep in his character. He recalls with warmth how, as a young army officer, he met American troops on the Elbe River in 1945, but his bonds with the Soviet people remain lasting and strong. He will keep Poland committed to the Warsaw Pact and close to the Soviet Union; but he also strives for a better relationship with the West, and for the restoration of full relations with the United States.

I am proud that the leader of this great nation should have chosen Pergamon Press for his first extensive interview outside Poland, and I hope that its publication and the publication of his speeches in English in this volume in the "Leaders of the World" series will lead to a better understanding in the world of Poland, its leader, and its people.

To the Reader by General Jaruzelski

I AM delighted to see this book in the English speaking world where my own countrymen have been throughout my life.

This book also shows a strong Polish nation in its supreme cause.

I am fully aware of the approval of each of our people for a safe place to live in a free world, rather than in a world of real, rather than of imaginary, dangers.

None of us in the world is of imposing our views on others, apologize for having been in an irrevocable, historical situation.

I would like to see a world guided us in many ways, that it may also be a better epoch, Poland is a paramount truth, the workers' Party.

That this nation is among foreign people. The heroic struggle. The very same victory, votive pyre, a desire.

I am proud and happy to hold leading positions of my career as a leader.

To the Reader by General Jaruzelski

I AM delighted to accept Robert Maxwell's invitation to write a foreword for the English speaking readers of this book for this is a book about my people, where my own roots lie, and whom I have served to the best of my ability throughout my whole life.

This book also tells of the Polish State. To each of us in the 37 million-strong Polish nation, the independent, sovereign, socialist Polish State is the supreme cause.

I am fully aware that not all the views I present in this book will win the approval of each and every reader in the West. But if this world of ours is to be a safe place to live in, it must be a world where diversity and equal partnership are real, rather than merely theoretical values.

None of us in the Eastern part of the European continent has any intention of imposing our ideology upon anyone. By the same token we do not intend to apologize for having chosen a socialist path of development. This is an irrevocable, historical fact.

I would like to think that this book will give its readers an insight into what guided us in many of our decisions, including the most agonizing ones. And that it may also make its readers realize why, in the great class conflict of our epoch, Poland chose the side of revolution and progress. Such is the paramount truth about my people, about the Polish working class, about our workers' Party. Were it otherwise, I could not have written this foreword.

That this nation survived a more than century-long period of partition among foreign powers was due to the deeply rooted patriotic spirit of the Poles. The heroic struggle of the nation in World War II bears testimony to this spirit. The very same virtue, at its hour of great trial, saved Poland from becoming a votive pyre, a destabilizing factor, or perhaps even a trigger for World War III.

I am proud and happy to be part of this nation and to have been privileged to hold leading posts in the Polish Party and the Government towards the end of my career as a soldier. When I addressed the nation on the day martial law

was introduced I reminded them that we are but a drop in the ocean of Polish history. Nothing which has occurred since then has challenged that maxim. Those at the helm of the State and the Government come and go, but the Polish nation and our socialist State remain. And so they shall.

Altogether millions of persons of Polish origin live in the West, especially in the USA, Canada, Australia and of course Great Britain. To them I address these words: many things may stand between us, but there is one care common to us all—that our Motherland should be a country in which every Pole can take pride.

To the English language readers of this book I make a personal plea.

To you history has been more benign and more providential than to us. You have had kings who really have ruled, parliaments who really have controlled what the kings did. You were enjoying constitutional freedoms when three-quarters of the Polish nation were bereft of civil rights. Your public and State institutions were not forced into obscurity by a century of foreign domination and the appalling years of Nazi occupation. So when you look at current Polish problems, try to do so without bias, and in a wide historical perspective. You will then find it easier to comprehend many of the views expressed in this book.

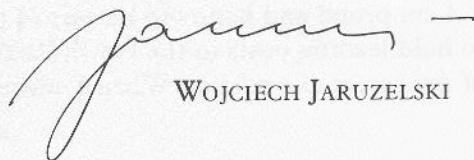
I am far from claiming that today whatever is hampering progress and development in Poland should be blamed on the vestiges of the past or on foreign interference. We sincerely acknowledge our own errors, of which this book provides ample proof. This acknowledgement is not meant merely for foreign consumption. It has been publicly stated from various rostrums in Poland time and again.

We are truthful and honest. We are also firmly confident of the strength we draw from the support we have in our working people, so strongly committed to the socialist ideals of social justice.

The English-speaking countries, with their attainments in civilization and culture, constitute a valuable and integral heritage for the whole of mankind. The contribution of the English-speaking nations to the common allied effort, resulting in victory over Nazism, is well known and highly esteemed in my country.

Bearing this in mind, I feel justified, as a soldier of that war and the Head of the Polish Government, to give those who will read this book one brief assurance.

What Poland needs above all is peace. The most vital interests of the Polish nation and State are vested in peace and détente, both in Europe and worldwide. A nation such as ours, so tragically ravaged by wars, is, will be, and must be the most natural of all parties to any agreement for peace and co-operation.



WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI

Wojciech Jaruzelski Sketch

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI was born in the Lublin region, a large town. His father, Władysław, was a teacher. He entered a large school in 1930.

The Jaruzelski family had a very liberal attitude. Wojciech participated in many sports and was a member of the Polish youth organization. He was victimized by the Nazis in his mother's language school.

Up to 1939 he lived in Warsaw, where he attended a contemporary Polish poetry school.

On the outbreak of war, his sister moved to the east. He enlisted as a soldier in 1943.

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI attended the School of Art in the autumn of 1943. He was in the Janina service he was wounded in 1943.

Fighting in the Warsaw Uprising, he was wounded in 1944.

Wojciech Jaruzelski—A Biographical Sketch

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI was born on 6 July 1923 in Kurów, in the Lublin region, a hundred and forty kilometres to the south-east of Warsaw. His father, Władysław, was an agricultural engineer by profession and administered a large estate. His mother's name was Wanda, née Zaremba.

The Jaruzelski family had long been known for their actively patriotic attitude. Wojciech Jaruzelski's grandfather, also called Wojciech, had participated in the 1863 armed insurrection, for which he was later severely victimized. Many references to members of the Jaruzelski family can be found in historical records down the centuries. His father died in 1942, in exile, and his mother in 1966, in Poland. He has a younger sister, Teresa, who is a Polish language scholar and lives in Łódź.

Up to 1939, he attended a private secondary school run by Marist priests in Warsaw, where he excelled in Polish language and literature. His school contemporaries included Tadeusz Gajcy, one of the most outstanding young Polish poets, who fell during the 1944 Warsaw Uprising.

On the outbreak of World War II, Wojciech Jaruzelski, his parents and sister moved for a short time to Lithuania and then, in 1940, to the north-eastern part of the Soviet Union, where he took a job as a labourer. He enlisted as a volunteer in the Polish military formation raised in the USSR in 1943.¹

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI was one of the first graduates of the Polish Officers' School at Ryazan, where he trained in a heavy machine-gun company. In the autumn of 1943 he was given command of a platoon in the Fifth Regiment of the Jan Henryk Dąbrowski Second Infantry Division,² and after a few months service he took command of a regimental field-reconnaissance unit.

Fighting with great courage in the battles of the First Polish Army, he was wounded in action and won the Cross of Valour twice,³ the silver medal

Merited in Battle three times, and the *Virtuti Militari* cross, awarded for acts of exceptional courage on the battlefield.

In the summer of 1944, with the First Polish Army, he crossed the river Bug—the eastern frontier of Poland. He was among those who forced the river Vistula near Pulawy and then went on to fight in the famous Magnuszew bridgehead, established by Polish and Soviet troops on the left bank.⁴

In January 1945, Lieutenant Jaruzelski personally participated in the liberation of Warsaw, entering the city through the northern suburbs. As the commander of a regimental reconnaissance unit, he was among the very first Polish soldiers to encounter the rubble and minefields left in the totally destroyed city by the fleeing Nazi troops.

Almost immediately afterwards, from January to the end of March 1945, he took part in the fierce fighting to break through the Pomeranian Wall, the *Pommernstellung*.⁵ As the fighting moved along the Baltic coast and the Oder and Elbe rivers, he was among the Polish troops who liberated one of the oldest Nazi concentration camps—Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg, located to the north of Berlin.

On 4 May 1945, the unit commanded by Wojciech Jaruzelski reached the Elbe, where it made contact with a spearhead of the United States Army. When the Third Reich capitulated, it was in the wooded area near Nauen, some distance to the east of the Elbe.⁶ But to Wojciech Jaruzelski the end of World War II did not mean the end of military service. He was to continue to fight for the ensuing first two post-war years.⁷

AT THE BEGINNING of 1947, Wojciech Jaruzelski was seconded to the Higher Infantry School at Rembertów, near Warsaw, where he studied staff operations. He graduated with distinction and was immediately appointed to the post of lecturer in tactics and staff work. He graduated from the Karol Świerczewski General Staff Academy in Warsaw,⁸ and completed a short-term strategic studies course at the Voroshylov Military Academy in Moscow. He was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 1949 and to full Colonel in 1954.

Due to his organizational talents, wide military education, decisiveness, energy and gift of clarity of expression, he soon attracted the attention of his superiors and was given the post of Head of the Department of Military Academies, Schools and Officers' Courses. During this period he laid the foundations on which the later system of military education was to be constructed, introducing original concepts into the working principles of military higher schools and academies. Soon afterwards he was promoted to chief of the Central Department of Battle Training, and in July 1956, at the age of thirty-three, he became one of Poland's youngest generals.

From 1957 to 1960, he commanded the Twelfth Mechanized Division of the People's Army⁹ in the ancient Polish city of Szczecin, at the furthest point

of Poland's north. The unit was transferred to the east and became one of the

In 1960, as a military expert, exemplary person of the Polish Army, political defence, National Defence command, numerous were held, responsible professional qualities.

In April 1960, entrusted him with the command of the National Defence forces. In October

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI, post-war Poland, and he has been since December 1945. Party were members of the Committee at the time. He has consistently

During the course of the Committee as a member of the negotiations with the members of the government, a proponent of peace conflict. This was a full member of the Committee since December 1971.

In the election of the Congress of the Polish People's Republic within the country, he was a 1909 valid vote and subsequently elected

He has been a member of the Szczecin branch of the National Defence General.

of Poland's north-western frontier. It was while he was in command that this unit was transformed from a division of infantry to a mechanized unit, later to become one of Poland's crack military divisions.

In 1960, as an expression of the high regard for his talents as a commander, military experience, political knowledge, ability in military education and exemplary personal character, he was made head of the Main Political Board of the Polish Armed Forces—one of the most important posts in the socialist political defence system. In 1962, he was appointed Deputy Minister of National Defence, and in 1965 Chief of the General Staff. Under his command, numerous staff war-games and operational and strategic exercises were held, resulting in the modernization of the structure, organization and professional qualifications of the armed forces.

In April 1968, when he was a divisional (two-star) general, Parliament entrusted him with the post of Minister of National Defence—a function which in Poland is not purely administrative. At that time, the Minister of National Defence was also Commander-in-Chief of all the regular armed forces. In October 1968 he was promoted to three-star general.

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI has always been actively involved in the political life of post-war Poland. In 1947–48 he was a member of the Polish Workers' Party, and he has been a member of the Polish United Workers' Party since December 1948, when the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party were merged. He was first elected member of the Party Central Committee at the Fourth Party Congress in June 1964, since which time he has consistently been re-elected by successive congresses.

During the dramatic crisis of December 1970, he was elected by the Central Committee as alternate member of the Political Bureau and took part in the negotiations with the striking Szczecin shipyard workers, alongside other members of the Party leadership. It was then that he became known as a proponent of dialogue with the workers, looking for ways to defuse the conflict. This was carefully remarked by Polish public opinion. He was elected full member of the Party Political Bureau at the Sixth Party Congress in December 1971.

In the elections to the Central Committee at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the United Polish Workers' Party in July 1981, when tension within the country and the Party was at its highest, he received 1615 of the 1909 valid votes cast—the second largest total. The Central Committee subsequently elected him by an absolute majority to the Political Bureau.

He has been a member of Parliament (*Sejm*) since 1961, initially for the Szczecin constituency and, since 1972, for Wrocław. His parliamentary activities have been largely concentrated in the Committee for National Defence. In 1973 he was promoted to the rank of Army (four-star) General.

His many years of work as head of the Ministry of National Defence won General Jaruzelski the reputation of a brilliant organizer and a fair, though strict, commander. The strategic potential of the Polish armed forces was considerably increased under his command and his contribution to improving their organization, discipline and fighting capability gained wide approval. As a modest and hard-working officer, sensitive to human problems, he became widely liked and respected, both by career officers and other ranks and by the enlisted men. He constantly demanded respect for the military traditions of the Polish nation, and many military units and training establishments were consequently named after past heroes of Polish history.

General Jaruzelski initiated and contributed to the development of the theoretical principles of personnel policy for the armed forces, creating the professional soldier's code of ethics and behaviour and a long-term programme for raising the cultural level within the ranks. He attached very special importance to strengthening military discipline and order and placed consistent emphasis on the continuing education of military personnel and on various forms of research into the theory of military operations, as well as in technology and the arts. It was largely due to his efforts—a fact repeatedly stressed in Parliament—that the armed forces were brought in to perform tasks of importance to the national economy.

For historical reasons, the status and moral authority of the armed forces have always been particularly great in Poland. The fifteen years during which General Jaruzelski held the post of Minister of National Defence saw a further rise in the prestige of the armed forces and in the confidence in them displayed by society at large.

His personal contribution to the enhancement and consolidation of the standing of the Polish armed forces within the Warsaw Treaty is also universally recognized.

ON 12 FEBRUARY 1981, when the State was facing mounting danger, Parliament appointed Wojciech Jaruzelski Prime Minister. This move was supported also by Catholic and non-Party members; only four votes were cast against. In current terminology, the official title of the Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic is *Chairman of the Council of Ministers*.

As Prime Minister during what proved to be one of the most difficult periods in Poland's post-war history, Wojciech Jaruzelski demonstrated his dedication to consolidating the structures of the State and to halting the progress of anarchy and economic decline. When he accepted the post of head of Government—which was at that time coupled with that of Chairman of the Committee for National Defence—he retained also the defence portfolio.¹⁰ Since 1981 he has similarly been head of the Committee for Economic Reform, giving energetic personal support to the process of modernization of the principles on which economic mechanisms operate in Poland.

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On 18 October 1981, when the situation in the country had deteriorated dramatically, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party voted overwhelmingly (by 180 votes to four) to appoint Wojciech Jaruzelski to the post of First Party Secretary, which had been vacated by Stanislaw Kania. He therefore became the sixth leader of the Party. And when the Council of State announced the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981¹¹ he assumed the post of head of the Military Council for National Salvation, whose purpose was to assist the constitutional authorities in carrying out their statutory functions.

This purpose was successfully accomplished. On 1 January 1983 martial law was suspended, and on 21 July of that same year it was finally lifted. The Military Council for National Salvation disbanded itself.

Notwithstanding his Party and State functions, Prime Minister Jaruzelski holds posts in many social organizations. Since 1972 he has been Vice-President of the Supreme Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy—the national organization of Polish war veterans. He has been a member of the National Council of the Patriotic movement for National Revival¹² since May 1983.

As of November 1983, under the powers of the amended act of Parliament on defence, he continues to hold the post of Chairman of the Committee for National Defence, not by virtue of his position as Prime Minister but under a separate Parliamentary decree. As Chairman of this committee he is automatically Supreme Commander of the Polish Armed Forces. In addition, the Council of State—which exercises presidential authority collectively in the Polish governmental system—has nominated him Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in time of war.

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI holds the highest Polish civil decoration—the Order of Builders of People's Poland, awarded to him in 1969. He received the Order of the Banner of Labour, First Class in 1963.

The following is a list of the more significant foreign orders he possesses: Order of Lenin—twice (1968 and 1983); the Belgian Commander's Cross of the Order of the Crown (1967); the Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Finland (1972); the Soviet Order of the October Revolution (1973); the Scharnhorst Order of the German Democratic Republic (1975); the Portuguese Grand Cross of the Order of Henry the Sailor (1975); the Order of the State Banner, First Class, of the Korean People's Democratic Republic (1977); the Mongolian Order of Sucho Bator (1977); the Hungarian Order of the Red Banner (1977); the Soviet Order of the Red Banner (1978); the Czechoslovak Order of the White Lion (1979); the Czechoslovak Order of Klement Gottwald (1983); The Karl Marx Order of the German Democratic Republic (1983); the Rumanian Order of the Star of the Socialist Republic, First Class, with Riband (1983); the Vietnamese Order of the Golden Star

(1983); the Bulgarian Order of Georgi Dimitrov (1983); the Mongolian Order of the Red Battle Banner (1983); the Hungarian Order of the Banner, First Class, with Diamonds (1983); the Cuban Order of Jose Marti (1983).

He has travelled widely. As Chief of the General Staff and later as National Defence minister he visited Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Mongolia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, the USSR, Belgium, Finland, India, Libya, Norway and Sweden.

As Prime Minister he has paid official visits to all the Warsaw Treaty countries and to India.

In 1982 he proposed that a Women's Charitable Health Centre be constructed in the city of Łódź as a monument to all Polish mothers, particularly those who gave their sons to the service of the country in the war. This great hospital is being built exclusively from public donations, with a substantial contribution from serving soldiers.

Wojciech Jaruzelski is married and has one daughter. His wife, Barbara Jaruzelski, Ph.D., is an assistant professor in German language at Warsaw University. His daughter, Monika, born in 1963, is studying Polish at Warsaw University.

In his public statements he pays the very greatest attention to speaking to the point, to clarity of argument and to taking full advantage of the beauty of his native language. He never fails to refer to Polish historical experience whenever the occasion permits, and speaks bluntly in his evaluations when the need arises. Such frankness is highly appreciated by Polish public opinion, and it is increasingly maintained that there has hardly been a more eloquent public speaker in Polish post-war political history. He is well read in Polish literature and poetry, his favourite writer being Stefan Żeromski. In his speeches as National Defence Minister, Party First Secretary and Prime Minister he makes repeated references to the need to make proper use of the Polish language and its potential richness of expression.

His personal life is austere in the extreme. He neither drinks nor smokes. Among his closest collaborators he is known as "the sleepless man" and a "workaholic". His selflessness and modesty have become proverbial in Poland. He stays aloof from all publicity, which has caused Polish and foreign mass media considerable problems!

The Jaruzelski family lives in small, single-family house in south Warsaw. The few free moments he has are spent reading and walking. He may also be found skiing and horse-riding, though he rarely has the time to pursue these pleasures.

Notes

1. The First Polish Republic was located in east-central Europe. It had served in the First World War. Central Europe. Berling became Prime Minister. He fought in the Second World War. Władysław Anders. He fought alongside the Red Army. The Union of Polish Patriots. The Soviet Government.
2. General Jan Berling. He was in the late eighteenth century. He fought alongside the Prussians in the Napoleonic Wars. He fought alongside Napoleon in the partitioning of Poland. He was composed in 1794. He was "perished" and was killed.
3. This is Poland. King Stanisław August. Tadeusz Kościuszko. War of Independence.
4. The closing of the extermination camps. burnt every day. death in public. six million Polish people.
5. This was the basis of the battle bunkers. continued up to the positions exceeded the northern route.
6. The Red (Soviet) Army. and the greatest Poland. More than the coalition army. Brandenburg (Prussia).
7. In the early years of the armed groups, sabotage which reconstruction not been able to do.
8. General Karol. years in the International Labour Office. the Polish First Army (UPA).
9. In 1942 the People's Guard. name was changed.
10. Since November.

Notes

1. The First Polish Tadeusz Kościuszko Division was formed in May 1943 at Sheltse, a hamlet in east-central Russia. Its first commander was Colonel Zygmunt Berling (1896–1980), who had served in the First World War in the Polish Legions which fought on the side of the Central European powers under the command of Józef Piłsudski. In the inter-war period Berling became a professional Polish army officer, commanding the Fourth Infantry Regiment. He fought in the Second Polish Corps, organized in 1942 under the command of General Władysław Anders, refusing to be evacuated to Iran and demanding that the Polish troops fight alongside the Red army against the Nazis on the eastern front. He later gave his support to the Union of Polish Patriots, then active in the USSR, who wanted to form Polish military units. The Soviet Government ultimately agreed.
2. General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski was one of Poland's most outstanding military commanders in the late eighteenth–early nineteenth centuries. He fought in the 1794 national insurrection and went on to raise a volunteer Polish Legion in Italy. In 1806 he organized an uprising against the Prussians in western Poland. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Polish units which fought alongside Napoleon in 1812 against Tsarist Russia, which was one of the three powers partitioning Poland. Dąbrowski's name figures prominently in the Polish national song composed in 1797, the first words of which are "*Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła*"—"Poland has not yet perished" and which since 1926 has been adopted as the Polish National Anthem.
3. This is Poland's highest military order and was created in 1792 by the last Polish monarch, King Stanisław August Poniatowski. The first to receive it were Prince Józef Poniatowski and Tadeusz Kościuszko, the Polish national figure who was later to become a hero of the American War of Independence, fighting on the side of what was to become the United States of America.
4. The closing years of World War II, particularly late 1943 and 1944, brought very real danger of extermination to the Polish people. Throughout the summer of 1944 some 20,000 Poles were burnt every day in the crematoria of the Auschwitz death camp and thousands more met their death in public street executions and pacification operations in the villages. A total of more than six million Polish citizens were killed during World War II, that is, one in five of the population.
5. This was the name used by the Nazi High Command for a line of deep defence fortifications based on natural and artificial water obstacles and an extensive system of medium and heavy battle bunkers. The construction of the Pomeranian Wall was begun in the 1932–34 period and continued up to the very last moment. Polish losses in the fighting to break through these positions exceeded 11,000 men. The fortifications were the key to further advance along the northern route to Berlin.
6. The Red (Soviet) Army played a decisive role in liberating Polish territory from the Nazis, and the greatest Soviet offensives, which ended with the capture of Berlin, passed through Poland. More than 600,000 Soviet troops fell in liberating Poland. The Poles were alone among the coalition armies to hoist their national flag next to that of the Soviet Union over the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin and to take part in the victory parade in Moscow.
7. In the early post-war years Poland was the scene of internecine fighting between various armed groups, who were responsible for killing many Polish people and for acts of arson and sabotage which paralyzed transport and hampered the introduction of land reform and the reconstruction of the devastated country. They included units of Ukrainian fascists who had not been able to make their way to western Germany.
8. General Karol Świerczewski was a Warsaw worker and revolutionary who lived for several years in the Soviet Union. In 1936, during the Spanish Civil War, he commanded an International Division of volunteers, and in the closing stages of World War II he commanded the Polish First Army. In 1946 he became Deputy Minister of Defence, but in the following year he was killed in an ambush by a band of Ukrainian fascists of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).
9. In 1942 the left-wing forces in Nazi occupied Poland organized an armed grouping called People's Guard. By a decision of the national underground Parliament in January 1944, the name was changed to People's Army.
10. Since November 1983 the defence portfolio has been held by General Florian Siwicki who,

like Wojciech Jaruzelski, was in the first group of Polish officers to pass out from the Officers' School in Ryazan. In November 1984 he was promoted Army (four-star) General.

11. On 25 January 1982 the Council of State's decision was overwhelmingly approved by Parliament.

12. This is a national organization for accord and joint activity by members of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Democratic Party, the United Peasant Party, lay Catholics groupings and a large number of social and professional organizations and individual members of society with no party affiliation. The movement's First National Congress was held on 7-8 May 1983.

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Declaration
the Sejm
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Declaration Made at the Meeting of the *Sejm** of the Polish People's Republic 12 February 1981

Excerpts

I thank you for the trust you have placed in me. I am a soldier and treat each task and duty entrusted to me as service to the nation, to socialist Poland. It is in this spirit that I undertake the difficult task of Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Today I should be presenting the House with a programme of government activities. But the short time I have had at my disposal, the magnitude of the political, social and economic issues, the existence of a number of unknown factors and, in particular, the complexity of the present situation, make it possible for me to outline only a few of the most important and urgent assessments and intentions.

The months which have elapsed since the signing of the agreements with which you are already familiar have witnessed a number of events, bringing various positive and hopeful changes. However, they have also brought, and continue to bring, serious concern and anxiety. The anticipated stabilization has failed to arrive. The principle of solving complex problems through dialogue, discussion and mutual agreement is bringing progress only with great difficulty. Both the Government and the trade unions are learning the difficult art of negotiating and appreciating the interests of one's partner. Mistakes and oversights are still happening. They are unavoidable in the not yet fully-explored field of expanding socialist democracy and in the vigorous current of renewal of social life.

* Parliament (*Ed.*).

However, it is not here that the origins of the present tensions and conflicts lie. Their true nature was highlighted by the 8th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Evil, politically hostile forces are expanding their activities aimed against Socialism, our alliances and the stabilization of the economy. Numerous attempts have been made to infiltrate and exploit certain social organizations, particularly some of the units of Solidarity,¹ and to divert them into false, anarchic, anti-socialist ways. Working people, millions of whom became members of the new unions from purely social, unionist aspirations, should not comply with such aims, rejecting such ways, distancing themselves from the political manipulators and refusing to succumb to extremist pressures.

Socialism has now been the structure of the social system of our national and state life for nearly 37 years. Hence, attempts to destabilize this structure constitute a weakening of our homeland and expose it to great danger. The Polish people shed a sea of blood to win independence. By gigantic labour they rose from ruins and ashes to the socialist Poland of today. Whole generations participated with great dedication in this work. Today our people face supreme danger. Should the destructive process roll on, we would be threatened not only with economic ruin but also with a collapse of social ties and—which is ultimately the most terrifying—with fratricidal conflict. Such words are not spoken lightly; I am aware of their weight and bitterness.

However, one cannot stay silent on the issue of Poland's future, or stand on the sidelines, or surrender to the stormy sea. Every Pole, every mother and father, should search their conscience for an answer to the question: What am I doing, what can I do, and what should I do, on my own and with those around me, to put a halt to this dangerous course of events?

The authorities cannot keep silent, cannot be indifferent either.

I hereby formally declare that—in keeping with the spirit of the 6th, 7th and 8th Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee—the Government will strive honestly and consistently for socialist renewal, socialist democracy; that we shall rectify the distortions which have occurred in the past, bringing wrongdoers to book and preventing in the future all that is untrue to or incompatible with socialist ideology; and that the friendly hand of the authorities will remain unwaveringly and honestly extended to all people of patriotic good will.

But for precisely the same reasons I declare with equal firmness that the Government is vested with the constitutional duty to defend the values of the political system of our State; that the popular regime has at its disposal sufficient might to block the way of those persons and processes that are aiming at turning back the wheel of history, at counter-revolution.

The insidious process which is undermining the stability of the life of the country has to be stopped. There is no room for dual authority in one state.

Such a situation in the country and of the state automatically transfers responsibility, Solidarity trade union, the socialist system.

Material progress, foundations of the new society.

The past year suffered great losses. The material resources to improve work are decreasing.

The present industrial production year, while producing, displayed a lack of continuation in supplies and not her own independent operation for customers, important to us Poles.

To a certain extent, shortages of products at the level of import and export—unrest—their another, and time has come about the development, to the potential, to the

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Such a situation would be bound to lead to a clash, to a conflict disastrous to the country and to the nation. Opposing this process is thus not only the task of the state authorities but also the patriotic duty of all forces of reason and responsibility, including the millions of members and activists of the Solidarity trade union who abide by its statute and espouse the principles of the socialist system.

Material production is an all-important matter, which determines the foundations of the nation's existence.

The past year was highly unfavourable for Poland's agriculture. We suffered great losses also in industry, building and raw material extraction. The material elements of the country's vitality are melting away. The resources to implement social goals and improve the conditions of life and work are decreasing.

The present day gives rise to particular concern. In January this year industrial production slumped by more than 10 per cent as compared with last year, while productivity dropped by 7 per cent, though directly paid wages displayed a 19 per cent increase. We are on a downward slope. Any continuation of this tendency implies the danger of a collapse of market supplies and undermines our social security. Poland's economic situation is not her own internal problem alone. Poland's failure to meet export and co-operation commitments causes ever greater disturbances for our foreign customers, impairs Poland's credibility as a partner and is frankly humiliating to us Poles.

To a certain extent, the present difficulties are objectively related to shortages of production materials and electrical energy, and to an insufficient level of imported materials. However, their main cause is the social unrest—the hotbeds of strikes, which shift from one place in the country to another, and the other actions which disorganize the normal rate of work. The time has come for the alarming truth about work discipline and efficiency, and about the devastating consequence of halting the country's production potential, to reach every citizen.

With the strike pistol pointed at its head and a constant concern with various flashpoints, the Government cannot carry out its work efficiently. This is not simply a matter of the Government's frame of mind, but of the disturbance of the elementary conditions for the functioning of the State. Such a situation can and does engender delay and cursoriness in the basic activities of administrative and economic organs, while many problems, vital for both present and future, cannot be accorded the necessary attention. It is society and Poland who are the ultimate losers.

Normalization of life—this is the most urgent task. It is a step that is absolutely essential to the restoration of economic equilibrium, the implementation of socio-economic reforms and the establishing of the country on the road of development. That step will have to be taken. It will not be possible

without an atmosphere of social calm, or without the constructive collaboration of all forces aware of their patriotic responsibility.

The Government is willing to meet its commitments. They are immense when related to the actual possibilities. They require peace and, most of all, work.

That is why I address a call, an appeal from this place, to the trade unions, to all working people, to refrain from all strike action.

At this moment I appeal for 3 months of hard work—90 days of peace. We want to use this time to put the fundamental aspects of our economy in order, to take stock of positive and negative factors, to tackle the most urgent social problems and to outline and commence the implementation of a programme of economic stabilization of the country and of far-reaching economic reform.

We want to make this time a period of broad social dialogue. Let us assess the implementation of the agreements in a relaxed atmosphere and with good will. Let us establish—on the basis of an honest analysis of the country's capacities—what we can really afford. Against this background, let us jointly update the social contracts already signed. Let us define a hierarchy and timetable for the implementation of our commitments, with a sense of realism and in keeping with the urgency of society's needs. Let us elaborate the principles of consistent, working co-operation and staff collaboration. Let us develop the habit of using them in practice. On my part, in order to upgrade the co-ordinating role and status of those activities as a coherent system, I intend to appoint a standing committee for co-operation with the trade unions, to be headed by a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The Government intends, by focusing its current activity on certain specific issues, which I now present to the House in a ten-point package:

FIRST, to supply the population with essential goods, above all with foodstuffs, and to ensure a just and socially controlled distribution of goods in short supply.

SECOND, to control retail prices of goods and services more severely and to intensify the struggle against market speculation.

THIRD, to mitigate the most urgent problems in health protection, especially by supplying basic medicines, accelerating the overhaul and construction of hospitals, transferring available facilities to the health service and intensifying the struggle against certain phenomena of social pathology, particularly alcoholism.

FOURTH, to ensure conditions for reaching the housing construction targets and to intensify efforts towards improving the functioning of communal services.

FIFTH, to implement the principles of socialist justice in determining wages and other incomes, in policy for social benefits, and in access to material

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and cultural wealth; to prevent both the lining of private pockets, incompatible with the principles of our society's standards, and the acquisition of unjustified privileges; to provide special care for the old and disabled, and for war and labour veterans.

SIXTH, to check the downward trends in agricultural production, to prepare the spring campaign efficiently in order to ensure planned supplies of the means of production and to make the best possible use of arable land.

SEVENTH, to streamline the manner in which the national economy is supplied with materials and technical equipment, to make progress in the more effective use of materials, fuels and energy; to search jointly with the miners for organizational and technological solutions to boost coal extraction.

EIGHTH, to put investments in proper order, by shelving the implementation of some and strictly limiting the starting of new ones; to concentrate potential on projects which can yield important social benefits most rapidly.

NINTH, to meet planned export targets and shape imports so as to satisfy the basic needs of the population and economy.

TENTH, to improve labour discipline and the organization of work; to increase productivity, and to retrain and transfer workers to new jobs according to the changing needs of the economy.

The consolidation of socialist democracy is a vital requirement of Socialism—a way of overcoming the crisis and a guarantee of the prevention of social upheavals in the future. In fulfilling its tasks, the Government expects great support from the broad development of self-managing social initiative and from closely linking government activity with a variety of forms of such initiative.

This applies first of all to people's councils at all levels. The creation of conditions for the people's councils to fulfil their important constitutional role is a task of great significance. A sizeable expansion of the powers enjoyed by local government and state administrative bodies should be conducive to restoring to the people's councils the function of genuine managers of *województwo*,² towns and rural communities.

In the coming weeks special attention will have to be paid to the reformation of self-managing workers' bodies, whose participation in joint decision-making on all issues concerning workplaces should contribute to the restoration of order, the improvement of management and the determination of socialist relations. The rapid and universal establishment of self-managing bodies in enterprises will be of great importance in shaping a favourable social atmosphere for the consolidation of social forces interested in the full and consistent substantiation of the purposes and provisions of the economic reform.

The Government attaches great weight to the development of various forms of co-operative and to the consolidation of their self-managing character. The Government sets its hopes on the rebirth of the farmers' self-management

movement and will support increasing its role in solving vital issues, in protecting the interests of the rural community and in participating in organizational activities geared to increasing agricultural production.

Social organizations and scientific and creative associations represent a great intellectual and cultural potential and rich resources of activity. The Government will co-operate more closely with them, counting on their initiative and on their growing participation in resolving the country's onerous problems.

We are convinced that the activities undertaken by the Government will meet with understanding and support on the part of the Church and the Christian social movement. The Polish Episcopate gives evidence of such an attitude. This is promoted by the expansion of the work pursued by the Joint Commission of the Government and Episcopate in the spirit of concern for the prosperity of our nation. We shall continue and develop this line further.

The importance and, at the same time, the urgency of the tasks mapped out for the Government are immense.

Life requires that we move on, and that we do everything for the positive stabilization of the country.

The key issue is to restore the rhythm of labour and to accelerate it throughout the whole economy. There must be constant, regular progress—from day to day, from week to week, from month to month. There is no more important task. Inherent in this are social and production discipline, opposition to inadmissible pressures and a struggle against provocative, anti-socialist agitation. The rule of law and order in workplaces and in the streets must be observed.

Every person has the right to work and live in peace, to personal safety and to respect for his individual dignity. The socialist authorities should guarantee this. The Government places the administration at all levels, the management of enterprises and the proper organs of authority, under strict obligation to safeguard these rights.

At the same time, the Government wishes to build and consolidate social confidence and the credibility of its intentions. Credibility is not born of words, but of deeds. That is why we will strive to make government policy clear and simple, and to make it find reflection in an active system of information concerning the course and results of our work, so that it may win social understanding.

We are fallible, like all people, and so errors and shortcomings may occur in the work of the Government. But we have sufficient courage and sufficient good will to admit our errors and, above all, to do away with them. The Government wishes such a socialist and democratic principle to become universal and binding on all sides, and to function permanently in our social life.

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The Government will devote much attention to the work of the administration, which fulfils a difficult and responsible state service. A democratic style of work and the ability to demand high competence and organizational efficiency, effective links with society and personal modesty—such are the basic and essential traits of its employees. It is with this in mind that our personnel policy will be transparently and systematically conducted. A code of ethics for state officials, a draft of which is now being worked out, will be an instrument to this end.

New pressures are constantly being brought to bear on managerial staff. We shall not protect people who have failed professionally and morally. All the unavoidable conclusions will be drawn. At the same time, however, we shall counteract the accusations psychosis and shall not allow slander. The honour and the position of managerial staff who have performed their duties honestly and with dedication in a principled and law-abiding way, who require their employees to perform their duties well, and who adhere to labour discipline, must be protected.

It is our intention to improve the organization and efficacy of the Government's work. The work of the Council of Ministers must be efficient, exacting in its standards, collective and, at the same time, based on individual responsibility.

These broadly outlined directions of activity will be followed by the Council of Ministers in close co-operation with Parliament as the supreme organ of state authority. The Government will submit the whole of its work for assessment to the House, listen attentively to the opinions and motions of the Deputies and implement to its utmost all parliamentary acts and resolutions.

Independence of government within its constitutional prerogatives; adherence to the line of the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party with which it co-operates within the National Unity Front; and harmony with all the patriotic forces of society and the democratically expressed collective will—such are the guidelines for the Government in its activity.

We shall continue to work actively to maintain *détente* in East-West relations. We shall actively participate in the political dialogue; we look forward with hope to the Madrid Meeting and are sincerely interested in the progress of the Vienna disarmament talks. Finally, we are putting forward our own initiatives, especially concerning the convocation in Warsaw of a conference on military *détente* and disarmament in Europe. We think that these tasks are especially important today, when the activization of forces aggravating the arms race weighs negatively on the climate of international relations.

Poland will remain a trustworthy member of the political-defensive alliance—the Warsaw Treaty. We shall not squander the sense of security

which Socialism has brought to Poland. The younger generation does not remember the time when Poland lost and regained independence; it does not know from its own experience how the liberation of our country was achieved, how the battle went for its present frontiers, or who was always Poland's staunch ally in this cause. Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact that all Poles are responsible for the fate of Poland, for its existence as a sovereign and independent state within the boundaries of the Bug, the Oder and the Lusatian Nysa rivers. Primarily, the Poles display their responsibility through their labour, which must not be less strenuous than that of other industrious nations of Europe.

A high form of such responsibility and an example of such strenuous labour is military service. Each draft for basic military training or reserve junior officers' schools is recruited from various communities, from different trade unions, organizations and associations. Each draft, however, rapidly adapts and quickly becomes integrated into a cohesive soldiers' collective, into defenders of the people's homeland.

During the dozen or so years of my work as Minister for National Defence several million people have done their military service. Hence we have done our service together. I think that the great majority of them have positive memories of those years and that each one of them feels satisfaction at his contribution to the cause of the country's defence. I would like to treat this as a bond of trust linking us together, a trust on which I count and which I badly need today.

Yesterday, in connection with the decision of the House to appoint me Chairman of the Council of Ministers, I issued a special order to our soldiers. Today I would like to repeat the words it contained: "The trust with which I have been honoured reflects the achievements of professional and all other soldiers; it embraces a fraction of the toil of each of them, and a confirmation of the prestige and the good name of the army."

Assuming the post entrusted me, I would like to assure the House that I still feel primarily a soldier, and that I will at any moment place myself at the disposal of the House, especially if the Government under my leadership should fail to live up to expectations. I will resign my mandate also when the House decides that the goals facing the present Government have been fulfilled.

Notes

1. **Solidarity**—*Solidarność*. The independent, self-managing trade union *Solidarność* was established in October 1980 and legally registered in November of the same year. By the summer of 1981 it had a membership of approximately 7 million, i.e. some 60 per cent of the total number employed in the nationalized sector of the economy. The remaining large trade union centres accounted for some further 30 per cent. As the months passed, Solidarity increasingly limited its statutory union activities, being rapidly transformed into a social movement of obviously right-wing and anti-State leanings as a result of the activity of anti-

communist forces within its leadership. It was suspended on 13 December 1981 and under the Parliamentary Trade Unions Act ultimately disbanded on 9 October 1982, as were all other unions.

2. *Województwo*—the largest administrative territorial unit in Poland. The country is divided into forty-nine such units, including three metropolitan units. The *województwo* is governed by a national council. The State is represented by a *wojewoda* or city president.

2.

Statement at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party 19 July 1981

Excerpts

My contribution to the discussion falls in the second part of the debate. Therefore, I have the opportunity not only to present the Government's stand on a number of problems but also to take into consideration some of the issues raised by the Delegates.

At successive congresses the Chairman of the Council of Ministers usually presents the basic provisions of 5-year national development plans to the supreme party assembly. Today we do not yet have a plan; it is still in preparation. This stems from the unique, unusually unstable, socio-economic situation in our country.

The enormous complexity of the situation is revealed in the government report on the state of the economy. We do not treat this solely as a source of information or as a register of phenomena and facts. Above all, it constitutes a summary of experiences, from which a lesson and a warning for the future may be drawn.

For the past three years People's Poland has for the first time in its history been witnessing an economic regression. It is estimated that this year the national income will slump by about 15 per cent. Such a sharp decline very rarely happens anywhere in the world in peacetime.

Producing substantially less, we automatically have less to distribute. At the same time, cash incomes have risen to an unprecedented degree due to pay rises and increases in social benefits. In the first half of this year incomes were almost 23 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of last year, whereas the quantity of goods supplied to the market was smaller by 10 per

cent. In effect, shortages on the market are becoming ever more painfully felt, the black market is booming and cost of living is rising. Symptoms of panic buying of goods are becoming increasingly evident.

At the same time, Poland's debts are constantly increasing. In a period of fast declining exports, this is inescapable if imports of food, grains and fodder, as well as of the most indispensable materials for production, are to be guaranteed. This year our debt to the capitalist countries alone will rise by about three thousand million dollars. This will burden us with additional repayment of credits and extremely high interest payments, which will worsen Poland's payments situation even further.

This unfavourable chain of events has made and continues to make it imperative for the Government to take many decisions of an emergency *ad hoc* nature. Our main aim is to lessen the effect of the crisis on people's living conditions. Extraordinary measures have been employed, such as rationing. Emergency purchases of foods and other merchandise are being made. Important decisions have been taken and numerous efforts made to boost agricultural production. Many administrative premises have been converted for the health service or for other social purposes. Examples could be quoted without end.

At the same time, the Government has been carrying out extensive work on systematic, long-term solutions. In particular, the *Programme for Overcoming the Crisis and for the Stabilization of the Country's Economy* and a draft of a comprehensive economic reform have been prepared. Certain measures proposed in the latter have already started to be introduced.

All this, however, has so far not been able to reverse the negative trends.

The Government's work is frequently criticized. We accept this criticism and understand it. The activities of the Council of Ministers and its organs must become more effective. Not all ministries and local administrative-economic organs have been performing their duties with sufficient energy and effectiveness; sometimes they fail to display adequate imagination, initiative or efficiency. This is slowly changing; nevertheless, it must change more radically. It is worthwhile, however, to bear in mind the especially difficult conditions in which the state and economic administration has to work at present. It should also be remarked that many expectations and demands concerning wages and social benefits, investments and hard currency exceed the country's present economic capabilities.

The questions being widely asked are: What must ultimately be done to overcome the crisis? What is holding us back and what is pulling us down? What levers should be engaged to put the flywheel of the economy in motion? The answer to these questions and the stance of the Government on these issues were presented in the *Programme for Overcoming the Crisis* . . . , taking into consideration the appropriate guidelines for the 9th Congress. For this

reason, I may perhaps be permitted to dwell only on some of these matters and to present them in a fragmentary manner.

What is the major, most urgent task of the moment? It is to halt the decline in production and, subsequently, to build it up again. There is no other way. Only an increase in production, a growth of the net national material product, constitutes the required point of departure and foundation for overcoming the difficulties currently experienced.

It is not by a simple restoration of the level of production that this may be attained. Structural transformations are imperative, aimed consistently at the development of agriculture and food production. The execution of this task has already been started.

The present stalemate will be overcome and freedom in shaping economic processes regained only when exports rise.

The low volume of exports means that money for imports is in short supply. Adequate supply of production materials to manufacturing plants becomes impossible and, by the same token, this leads to a decline in production. In turn, exports drop and in effect a further reduction of imports occurs, so that ultimately production capability slumps. This is how the vicious circle revolves, its vortex dragging the economy down. At the same time, one must not harbour the illusion that this can be resolved through postponing our current payment commitments. For this is only postponing a problem which becomes greater every year. The only solution is to increase exports.

There is only one way to revivify the economy rapidly. This is the better utilization of existing production potential. It was this, or in fact a smaller potential, which a few years ago was producing much more than today. Clearly it is now operating well below capacity.

Machinery is utilized less well and work is less effective in the already shortened working week. This does not always stem from a shortage of materials, fuels and energy. There are branches which could yield greater production if their problems were tackled in a more active manner.

The difficulties we are experiencing have allowed us once again to see who our true friends are. In the present extremely difficult time we are enjoying the co-operation and assistance rendered to Poland, first of all by the Soviet Union and also by several other member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), and this has been and still is of exceptional value. We realize that it is no simple thing for our friends to render this assistance. They have not a few needs of their own.

Long-range economic, scientific and technological co-operation with the CMEA countries yields multiple benefits. Trade with the USSR has stabilized important sections of our economy; it is characterized by a product structure highly convenient to Poland, particularly a large surplus of Polish imports over exports of materials for production and fuels. An advantageous system of prices also operates in our favour in trade with the Soviet Union.

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The crisis cannot be put behind us without a profound economic reform. A draft of this, worked out by the Commission for Economic Reform, has been presented to this 9th Extraordinary Congress for discussion. This draft reflects both our own, domestic experience and that of the other socialist countries. Self-management by workplace staffs and central planning are the pillars on which the reform rests. We shall create all the necessary conditions for the independent operation of economic organizations, and for real and practical self-management. Central planning will be consolidated, based on scientific foundations. This constitutes an instrument for the application of the economic laws of Socialism to social and economic practice. We shall devise mechanisms to safeguard general social interests. We shall apply such principles and procedures of decision-making as will increase the importance of economic calculation and halt particularism, economic lawlessness and arbitrary behaviour. All this is aimed at increasing efficiency, fuller implementation of the principles of socialist justice, and the increasing of participation in and co-responsibility for the affairs of this country and its economy by the working people.

We have imposed a rapid work pace upon ourselves. Other socialist countries have spread the preparation and implementation of their economic reforms over many years. This is why it is difficult to accept accusations that the Government is indolent. Preparing such a profound and complicated reform in such extremely complex conditions is a very serious and responsible undertaking. It requires close analysis, the study of various views and opinions, and confrontation of differing arguments. We have sufficient experience of the consequences which hasty decisions can bring. Our country will be suffering from the results of the arbitrariness of the recent past for many years to come.

We are determined to act quickly and consistently to implement the economic reform. A timetable to introduce the reform has been fixed. A far-reaching reorganization of the central administration has been commenced. Drafts of legislative acts of capital importance for the functioning of the economy and the State have been prepared.

A question often asked concerns guarantees that the economic reform will be carried out. This question is not unjustified, especially in the light of past experience. The memory is still fresh, in the consciousness of society, of the attempts to carry out reforms undertaken in the second half of the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1970s. But they failed to bring the expected results.

On what is our conviction based that this will not be repeated; that this time we shall prove, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory, that our system is open to progressive transformation and that it has the ability to adjust to the demands posed by the development of production forces? Three important and convergent premises testify to this:

The first premise relates to social needs, the firm desire of workers' staffs and of society as a whole to rebuild the mechanisms of socio-economic life and its organizational structures, so that they correspond to the need for participation and co-responsibility of the working people for the economy and the State, and so that they create conditions for the total involvement of the nation's creative forces in the development of the economy, science, culture and other aspects of life, preventing any future emergence of crises and distortions.

The second premise relates to the potential ability of managerial personnel to prepare and implement comprehensive economic reform. The high level of qualifications, and the social dynamism, the source of which is the youth of our society, together with the experience of the older generation open up possibilities for creative and independent solutions of the complex problems by teams of employees at various levels and in different fields of the economy.

The third premise relates to the political will to carry out the reform, expressed and confirmed in practice by the Party and the State. This is observed by the firm course taken toward the development of socialist democracy and the restoration of Leninist norms in intra-party life, as witnessed by the unambiguous determination of the nature of the reform through broad social discussion and submission for debate at the 9th Extraordinary Congress and, finally, by the undertaking of practical steps toward implementing the reform.

When society embarks on so huge an effort to overcome the crisis, it must be convinced that the course we are charting leads to the ultimate goal. This is the basic precondition for the implementation of the programme presented, as well as for overcoming the inertia and hopelessness that paralyses human activity. This becomes ever more pronounced if the sacrifices required are taken into account. Our credibility as the Party, as the people's authority, would be severely harmed if we did not speak about it openly and frankly.

We are facing the need to introduce a reform of retail prices, especially as concerns raising food prices as well as prices for coal, gas and electricity. This is absolutely indispensable to put the economy in order, to overcome the progressive disorganization of the market, and then gradually to eliminate the onerous system of rationing. If we do not introduce this reform, the disorganization of the market will become a problem that is augmented with each passing day. Even at the beginning of this year, the rise in prices to restore equilibrium on the food market would have amounted to 66 per cent on the average, whereas today a rise of 110 per cent on the average would be necessary. Every delay in introducing the reform considerably increases its social cost.

The modest means we shall have at our disposal make it imperative that their just distribution be accorded special attention, together with the consistent implementation of the social policy, the fundamental task of which

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has been and remains to protect the lowest income groups, the people with the lowest living standards. With this in mind, the Government has prepared a draft of modifications in the system of pensions. It provides for a successive increase in the value of the lowest of them, the introduction of a system allowing for the current indexing of their value to the conditions of rising wages and cost of living—a mechanism for correcting the level of the lowest pensions, and the preparation of new measures in the pensions system for farmers.

Experience teaches that changes in the functioning of the economy do not take place without opposition. Inertia and reluctance to innovate are, in the case of the reform, something of a protective mechanism. The reform, like any change, evokes a subjective sense of threat and a fear of new demands. That is why Party members, social activists, and activists of all the trade unions have a great part to play in implementing the reform. They will encounter difficult situations, sometimes requiring unpopular actions.

The substantiation of the reform may be threatened by various setbacks. The Party can overcome these by mobilizing social support. This is why it is so indispensable that the introduction of the reform should become an important and constant element of our party activity.

Nearly a year ago agreements were signed in Gdańsk, Szczecin and Jastrzębie. It would be hard to ignore the transformation which has taken place since that time in social relations and in the life of the nation. Through the decisions of the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the process of socialist renewal is progressing step by step. This is an unquestionable achievement.

However, not everything is taking place according to expectations. Recent months have seen a systematic deterioration in the country's economic situation. This process is continuing and accelerating dangerously. Not everything can be explained in terms of past errors, even though such errors lay at the foundations. They, too, are now and will remain the object of consistent, full and final reckoning by the Party. So what does lie at the root of such a state of affairs? The Poland of 1981 is not the Poland of 1945. It is not a heap of rubble and smouldering ruins, but a country of a modern production potential, with highly qualified personnel. But at that time, in our completely ruined Homeland after the war, its citizens—though emaciated, maltreated and starving—heeded the Party's call and under its leadership undertook and carried through the great work of reconstruction. What is the reason that today, in incomparably better conditions, we are slipping downhill? Why has it proved impossible to put the great potential of the powerful economic machine into motion?

It may be worthwhile turning our minds back once again to the autumn of 1980, when the working class put forward pay and social demands. Many agreements were signed, and as a result, expenditure on wages and for social

purposes increased by hundreds of billions of zlotys. The length of working time was also shortened.

All this was carried out to a considerable extent in contradiction to elementary economic laws. However, there was a justified hope that the increase in wages and improvement in social conditions would contribute to the growth of productivity and to better discipline, so that eventually the growth of production thus achieved would offset the increase in wages. Such forecasts were voiced by representatives of the trade unions. However, this has not happened. The economy continues to slump.

The question that persistently comes to mind is: Why? Undoubtedly, the authorities also make mistakes. However, it is impossible not to see how the authorities' initiatives, aimed at bringing the situation under control and carving a foothold for economic improvement, are being foiled. Today the crucial, central issue is better utilization of our production potential, changes in the structure of employment, and the implementation of the economic reform. Nobody questions this. On the contrary, words of support can be heard on all sides.

Do I see any possibility of performing those tasks, of substantiating the Congress resolutions? Yes, I do. This, however, requires active commitment to the implementation of the crisis management programme on the part of all social forces. We are still far distant from that today. In the shadow of horrific inflation and market shortages, and in the face of falling production, proposals and demands are still multiplying for wage increases, additional holidays and bonuses. After a few weeks of relative calm, new hotbeds keep flaring up. Unfortunately, the 9th Congress is being held against a jarring accompaniment in this respect. Against such a background one cannot escape the question: Who is this benefiting? Where are the Poles heading for? I pose this question to the supreme Party forum. Every thinking citizen is asking himself the same question. An answer is of the utmost importance today. It depends on the attitude of millions of people—Party members and people with no party affiliation, trade union members, all our citizens. It is of decisive importance in overcoming the false conviction that wage increases can be demanded and achieved, the market situation improved and working conditions upgraded without increasing production and labour productivity. The principle of dialogue and agreement has to find support in a common front of work. This is the key to resolving Polish affairs in 1981.

The State is the supporting structure of democratic, law-abiding activity in a socialist society. The stronger the structure, the more fully may social and civic activity develop. We are going through a stormy period in the development of the institution of socialist democracy. Emotional factors, arguments and clashes of opinion predominate. This is a valuable thing, of course, though it is merely the beginning of a process which should yield more

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efficient forms and modes of activity and of resolving common matters, with better relations between government offices and the man in the street.

In keeping with its constitutional duty, the Government undertakes to cooperate with all sections of society. The line of dialogue with representatives of all religious denominations will be continued. We appreciate the constructive contacts with the Episcopate, based on mutual respect. The talks initiated with the new Primate of Poland allow us to entertain the hope that the cooperation shaped in the past will be continued and consolidated.

The socialist rule of law is among the basic principles of the functioning of the State and its organs, public service institutions, enterprises and workplaces, organizations, unions and associations, and of every citizen. The democratic character of our social system lies also in the universal applicability of the law to one and all, in observance of social justice, in the awareness that the law is the same for all. As a result of this awareness, such cases as happened in the past, when particular individuals placed themselves above the law, allegedly justified by the posts they held, can no longer be repeated. Appointment to a top position in state administration today means, above all, more work.

The law is the mainstay of the Polish Republic. We do not claim that it should be immutable. When the need arises, it must be updated and amended legally. The process of improvement of the law should consolidate the socialist foundations of our State, removing curbs on effective activity. At the same time, there are not and cannot be any states of extreme necessity which would justify the violation of the rule of law. This applies to everyone without exception.

The Government will therefore not tolerate attempts to usurp the privilege of standing outside the law or, all the more, above the law. Only a law-abiding State can be democratic. Only a democratic and law-abiding State can be strong.

The State can fulfil its tasks only in conditions of public and social order. Laudable efforts by the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service are contributing to the maintenance of such conditions, which are indispensable for the development of socialist democracy. There is no greater danger for democracy than anarchy which, like a disease attacking healthy cells and thus damaging an organism, undermines the existence of the State and thereby strikes directly at the fundamental values of the nation.

These are words full of concern, but also full of responsibility. Appeals can be heard to create tension, to exert pressure on the legally operating organs of government, to proclaim strikes that will destroy the economy and undermine social structures. Various protest actions, conducted or planned, are aggravating the tension.

The question clearly is: Who is standing behind all this? Who is working for confrontation, for anti-socialist violence? Let it be clearly stated—and this is how I understand many of those who have spoken on the floor of the

Congress—that there are limits which may not be exceeded. That would be fatal to the State and to the nation. Never will such a situation be permitted. Such is the patriotic duty of every citizen and, above all, of the people's Government. Should the situation demand it, when there are over-riding reasons, the authorities will be forced to exercise their constitutional duties to save the State from disintegration and the nation from disaster.

Many years have passed since the war. Several successive generations have benefited from the sense of security which is ensured by the direct proximity of exclusively socialist friends and allies. That sense, especially when we are involved in an internal crisis, pushes concern for security and peace into the background.

At the same time, the international situation raises justifiable concern. Recently, the danger of war has become visible ever more clearly. The peace initiatives of the USSR and the socialist countries are being blocked. The disarmament negotiations are in a state of deadlock. NATO armed forces are being expanded, military infrastructure is being intensified and preparations are being carried out for the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

In today's world, every focal point of tension poses a danger, but the most dangerous of all would be disturbance of the balance of forces in Europe. Here the sharpness of the existing division is particularly severely influenced by the international climate. It is here that the so-called German question has still not disappeared; revanchist forces continue to be numerous and active. It is here, where the highest degree of military concentration exists, that the main border between the two systems lies. Europe is therefore the crucial continent for peace in the world.

And it is here, at this sore point, that Poland has its geostrategic location. In the general balance of forces it is of double significance. In the present international situation, our internal condition, as well as our status and value in the system of defence of peace and Socialism, cannot be a matter of indifference to us or to anyone else.

Poland's foreign and defence policies are essentially designed to safeguard our national existence and are serving that end. Where these issues are concerned, the line adopted by Party and State, no matter what internal aberrations might have occurred, has always and invariably been correct, passing every test and bringing undeniably positive results. It will be preserved, strengthened and enriched. Poland will remain an active link in peaceful co-operation in Europe and the world. We must maintain this position, to which we are entitled by our history, our contribution and sacrifices in the struggle against Nazism, our modern potential, and the numerous peaceful initiatives we have taken. We shall not allow ourselves to become a pawn on a chessboard. The sooner Poland returns to strength and health, the more her voice will be heeded in international issues.

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in the principle of socialist renewal, in the line of accord. It is always open to co-operation with all social forces which desire the good of the nation on the basis of a socialist Poland. This also concerns Solidarity and its millions of members. We rely on our comrades affiliated in this union to see to it that it follows a genuinely trade unionist course and, at the same time, to counteract all endeavours and efforts by extremist forces, hostile to the Party, to do harm to Socialism. There must not be any ambivalence here; there must be absolute clarity.

We are living in unique times. History will give the final evaluation but, before then, life will show whether the road we have chosen is the right one, whether we have been marching along it wisely, boldly and prudently. It was and it still is an extremely difficult road—a road both of accord and of struggle. It requires great effort and virtually superhuman perseverance to keep on course, to defend Socialism and overcome the crisis by our own efforts.

Governing today is an enormous burden. But it is not personal positions that are at stake; these are the easiest to turn over to someone else, which gives great relief. On the other hand, the rule of the people, the authority of the socialist State, cannot and will not be turned over to anyone. There should be no illusions here, no playing with fire.

At this historic juncture, it is only this authority that guarantees our national existence, on the basis of Socialism and the socialist renewal, within just borders, in a sense of security and peace. And these values must be inviolable. For Poland to remain Poland,¹ it cannot but be a socialist Poland.

This Congress can be a turning point. It will fulfil its historic mission when, from this hall, the programme of our Party reaches society and is received with understanding by society. The Party delivers criticism, but at the same time it also brings hope. Only this Party, revitalized, consolidated and fully united, reconstructing its bonds with society and deepening its Marxist-Leninist identity, can lead our country out of the crisis and ensure its further propitious development.

In fact, Poland's fate is being decided now. We must be confident that the Party will fully restore its leading role; that our nation will liberate within itself its great ability to mobilize patriotism to resist the threat; that we shall at once, from this moment, set out in concert upon the road mapped out at the Congress. Only this road leads to a better tomorrow for the nation, to a better future for socialist Poland.

Note

1. **For Poland to remain Poland**—*Aby Polskabyła Polska*. The title of a song widely performed in cabarets in 1980 and 1981, especially by Jan Pietrzak. It makes light-hearted reference to Poland's complex history and present-day situation, stressing the need for fidelity to patriotic principles.

3.

Speech Delivered Before the *Sejm** of the Polish People's Republic 30 October 1981

Excerpts

Rising tension can be sensed in our country's social and political situation. The country is being swept by a wave of unrest, conflict and strikes. Economic problems are accumulating. The people are becoming impatient over poor market supplies.

Last February, on assuming the function of Chairman of the Council of Ministers, I said that the negative developments had gone too far to allow the continuous deterioration in the economic situation to be halted and reversed quickly, and that the coming year would be a critical one, full of drastic shortages. I said this not from excessive caution, but out of knowledge of the logic of economic processes, and out of a realistic evaluation of the extent to which fully tangible counter-measures would be introduced.

May I remind this House that the guidelines and measures for overcoming the economic crisis, presented in the government programme, were unanimously approved by the House. The Government is working resolutely to implement this programme, always very much aware of the growing complexity of the situation. Whatever we have done has been dictated by the aims of reversing the negative trends, combating the mounting crisis and easing the pressure of economic hardship on the lives and work of the people.

Yet the question arises: Why, in spite of all these efforts, does the economic situation continue to deteriorate rather than improve? The underlying reason is the persistently tense sociopolitical climate and the turning of the economy into an anti-government battleground.

* Parliament (*Ed.*).

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Production is becoming increasingly disorganized. The losses caused by strikes, tension and declining work discipline continue to grow. Basically, the consumer market, agriculture and exports are the victims. One cannot help recalling the frequently quoted truism that strikes tax the whole of society, and that slumping living standards are the price we all pay for them.

Presenting the House with its crisis management programme, the Government stressed that to make it effective what was needed was social peace, so that the central administration might be allowed to operate normally and all social forces co-operate actively and responsibly. Today, it must be admitted, the above conditions are far from being fulfilled. That is the main reason why the effects are incommensurate with the measures undertaken.

The preparations for introducing the economic reform have entered a decisive stage. A package of draft legislation, redefining the principles for the functioning of the economy, are now under consultation. In this consultation process the involvement of workers' economic reform committees is of especial value. Trade unions and interested social organizations are also being asked for their views.

In the next three weeks, drafts of the basic economic reform bills will be submitted to the Presidium of the *Sejm*.

In carrying out all this work, we do not lose sight of the limitations and barriers set by progressive economic degradation. Insufficient supplies of fuel and energy, lack of foreign currency, falling quantities of materials for production—all these factors constrain the possibility of granting independence to work establishments and workers' self-management bodies. To a large extent, the future of the reform depends on curbing the negative processes and creating at least the minimum conditions for the effective employment of economic mechanisms. It would be irresponsible to force through the reform provisions in a cement plant for instance, unless it could be offered the essential supplies of coal and electricity. Many such examples can be quoted. Thus, for all our approval of the earliest possible enactment of a far-reaching reform, we must evaluate the situation more realistically and abide absolutely by objective economic laws.

The hopes of the people must not be dashed. For this reason we must not delude ourselves that 1 January 1982 will mark a breakthrough in the country's economic conditions, or that the reform machinery will immediately start to run smoothly and the shops will automatically fill with goods. Such is the ultimate goal. But before we reach it, we shall for quite some time still be coping with considerable difficulties—a lack of basic materials for production, energy, fuel and many market consumer goods. These matters have been recently addressed by the Economic Reform Commission.

Acting on the advice of the Commission, the Government is now preparing a package of solutions which would create a working system for the so-called "transition period". In most general terms, the idea is to create a bridge

between the present situation and a future period, when the whole economy will start functioning in line with the provisions of the reform. This is not to say that the pace at which the reform is introduced will be restrained. It merely shows that the way in which it will be substantiated must reflect actual economic conditions.

Modifications of the provisions for the transition period, together with a package of basic legislation concerning the reform, will be submitted to the House. The introduction of new rules of economic management must be combined with the shaping of a basically new public awareness, a grasp of economic mechanisms and a change in approach to tasks and duties. The system of management in the 1970s has attracted fully justified criticism for its excessive centralism, blunting of incentives, and irresponsibility. We reject this manner of running the economy and the State. However, labour establishments and local government bodies are finding it very hard to throw off the long habit of relying on instructions, guidelines, directives and orders from above. The granting of greater independence in the management of local problems often encounters a barrier of helplessness, inaction and lack of incentive. Suggestions are then voiced that the central decision-makers should propound a uniform approach to issues which would, in fact, best be resolved by local communities and local government bodies.

The economic reform will prove practically effective only to the extent that self-managing bodies will be able to use their decision-making rights to generate initiative, and to arouse the responsibility of workers and managers for resolving problems independently. Decentralization of management cannot, however, lead to the demotion of central, strategic planning; nor can it ever lead to indifference by the state administration toward economic processes and developments.

On the contrary. It will be the socialist State pursuing economic reforms which will particularly shield the economically weakest groups and restrain the untrammelled operation of free market forces, which widen the gap between rich and poor. To do this, the State has to be strong and capable of effective control of socio-economic developments. Therefore it is in the interest of self-governing bodies to consolidate the socialist State, just as the development and consolidation of self-governing bodies in town and country is in the interest of the socialist State. These are the requirements which have been consistently followed by the Government under its existing programme.

The economic reform raises high hopes. However, to make it successful, law and order and discipline in public life and in production effort must be seen as crucial. Otherwise the hopes may be dashed.

Our country stands at a critical point. The country is falling into economic collapse. The fabric of the State is being dismantled from the inside. Social relationships and the unity of town and country, constructed over many years, are now being torn apart. Lawlessness, crime and the strike madness are

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becoming a way of life. Continuous tensions, countless demands, the fomenting of hatred of both the Government and Socialism—our natural allies—all this is destroying the material and the spiritual and moral tissue of the nation. More and more often the Polish family is characterized by want, a sense of despair and fear of what tomorrow may bring.

We cannot go on living like this.

What we have been saying about the supreme national interest has been falling on deaf ears. We are being flooded not with surplus money, but with surplus words. How much longer must we appeal, urge, persuade and warn? How much longer must we declare our willingness for reconciliation, for dialogue and constructive co-operation? So far, such gestures regularly run up against a wall of ill will, pig-headedness and anti-government psychosis.

The extremist forces in Solidarity are forming a counter-government, motivated by dictatorial aspirations. The mass of its members are forced to submit to the will of its leaders in order to further their ambitions and plans. They remain unaware of the gruesome game into which they are being drawn. We know that the sense of patriotic responsibility and understanding of the interests of our socialist State prevail among the rank and file and in part of the Solidarity leadership. Regrettably, the policy of this trade union and its regional chapters is made not by these but by groups of troublemakers and gamblers.

In Poland, Solidarity operates unrestrained. It has thousands of cells and millions of members. It operates throughout the whole country, in a majority of work establishments. There are no impediments to union activities and no one can provide a single concrete example of the authorities' hampering or, even less so, obstructing the statutory activities of trades unions.

For its trade union work, Solidarity has a lasting place in the country's social life. That is a fact of life. No tensions exist where local Solidarity chapters are committed to constructive settlement of concrete problems of working people. Such co-operation is feasible and necessary as long as it has the interests of the working class and the socialist State at heart.

The Government does not look for applause or congratulatory scrolls from any of the existing trades unions. Constructive criticism stands behind any progress. Yet, where a struggle is waged against one's own State, where national unity is undermined and the economy hamstrung, it becomes a malevolent act transcending the notion of any trade union activity. To any nation, its own State is the supreme value.

Strikes, strike alerts and protest actions continue to dominate many parts of the country. Billions of zlotys and uncounted volumes of the goods so greatly needed by the people have been irretrievably lost. Foreign trade contracts are seriously jeopardized. We have lost the chance of earning additional amounts of foreign currencies which could buy us the medicines, foodstuffs and the industrial equipment so painfully required.

Even the defence industry, the linch-pin of Poland's national security and alliance commitments, has been assailed.

He who sows this wind may reap a storm.

A few days ago, a token strike was staged, at a moment when the winter is fast approaching. We live in quite a severe and capricious climate. We can afford no negligence in this regard. We must make provision for the severest of winters.

Every hour of strike translates into underheated crèches and kindergartens. Every hour of industrial strike portends hardship for those who have worked hard throughout their lives for the good of Poland.

Let the strike organizers answer to the people, especially to the mothers of infants, the veterans of labour and war, and the senior citizens; let them say by what authority they are sapping the economy, fanning the fire of tension at this particular moment, when winter is approaching.

Some local conflicts have been generated by genuine, unusually painful market shortages. The Government is aware of this and sympathizes with public feeling. This problem seems to have a deceitfully simple solution—taking away supplies from those who are not yet on strike. But this leads nowhere. There is not and will not be any other way to achieve an improvement in living standards than through work.

There is just no other answer.

In Poland, the atmosphere of strike and unrest is being heightened with all the expertise of a campaign of psychological warfare.

It is a source of hope that a growing number of Poles are seeing through these machinations. Increasingly often we hear voices of protest against the actions of the dictatorial-minded groups within Solidarity. No longer are people bowing down passively to the strike terror.

The advocates of confrontation frequently use the language of threats. There is evidence of moral pressure and terror directed against those who have the courage to think differently. Voices can be heard calling for the physical elimination of Party members, the communists. May our answer be heard loud and clear. We warn against the language of threats, for such threats are only one step away from crime. History knows many such examples. It is not the people's Government which is driving Poland to the verge of disaster. Our whole strength is devoted to preventing this. We have given and are still giving proof of this to the whole world. We believe that our so bitterly experienced nation will display sufficient wisdom to close the road to disaster by collective effort.

Every day I receive many resolutions produced by Solidarity extremists. They are ridden with groundless, often grotesque, accusations and threats to the authorities. But I also receive an equal number of requests and pleas for the Government to act without delay in restoring law and order in this country and to put an end to the destructive war of nerves. Their authors are

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desperate, exhausted people, most of them elderly, who want to know when will all this be brought to an end, when will the authorities say "Enough!"

I consider it my duty to answer them. A month ago, from this rostrum I urged the Solidarity trade union to take a clear position on matters of paramount significance for this nation and the socialist State. We have heard no answer. Our hand, once more stretched out for conciliation, did not meet another hand. The answer came by way of a stepping up of political fighting. Among other things it has already brought a new call for what is known as an "active strike". Are those who deliver this battle cry really aware of the meaning and consequences of such strikes? Are they willing for their conscience to be burdened with the consequences of this move?

Just as there is no man free from error, so the work of the Government and the administration is also not free from mistakes and shortcomings. We never shy from admitting this fact and from promptly rectifying mistakes.

We realize that the State cannot be governed without the help of the intellectual and moral reserves inherent in the people. Poland's socialist renewal is essentially an expression and confirmation of universal civic and patriotic aspirations.

In the programme approved at its conclusion, the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party recommended that work be initiated on a new formula for a national unity front, a front of national reconciliation capable of attracting genuine participation and generating increased activity by the millions of patriots who work for socialist Poland in all fields. This recommendation, reiterated at the 4th Party Central Committee Plenary meeting, gave rise to the initiative by the Polish United Workers' Party, under which preliminary drafts were prepared and discussions and consultations undertaken, with the co-operation of the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party and the leaders of major civic organizations.

In the light of developments fraught with danger, a full definition of the formula for this front, its programme and its structure becomes an extremely significant and urgent matter.

I propose, therefore, to establish a Council for National Conciliation, which will as soon as possible consider and agree upon a programme for the front, and upon its role, structure and rules of operation on the sociopolitical scene. I invite the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, civic, academic and professional organizations to join the Council. I invite persons who enjoy high social prestige to take part in the work of the Council. I reckon on the support of the church hierarchy for this initiative.

Through concerted action we can save this country and through the common responsibility of all those who respect the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, and all those to whom the cause of peace, security and a prosperous future of the Polish people is of the highest value, we can surmount the crisis.

With reference to the earlier announcement at the September 24th session of the *Sejm*, I wish to announce my firm intention to appoint a Social Consultative Council to the Presidium of the Government.

It will be the task of the Council to present—on its own initiative or at the request of the Government—opinions, motions and proposals concerning solutions to social and economic problems. It is our particular hope that the Council will deal with key issues of socio-economic policy, implementation of the economic reform and crisis management, guidelines and a framework of operation for institutions of science, education and national culture, and the promotion of socialist self-management structures and social order.

The Social Consultative Council will be offered the possibility of polling public opinion, preparing feasibility reports and follow-up studies on the effects of the proposed solutions, and informing the public of the results of its work.

The Council will be composed of eminent scholars, social and economic activists, and representatives of the creative milieu.

We reiterate wholeheartedly our support for the earlier proposal of convening a standing Joint Commission composed of government officials and representatives of all the country's trade unions.

While still preserving its leading position, the Party feels justified in expanding the social base of the national Government, in ensuring appropriate power-sharing with the other political parties and non-party citizens, including lay Catholics, inside both the Government and the executive agencies of the State and the economy. We also see a need for boldly promoting highly qualified and dynamic young people to positions of responsibility in the State and economic administration.

A draft resolution on the employment of scientific advisers by central and local government agencies is close to completion. The resolution will bind state officials at all levels to take advantage of scientific findings and discuss their decisions with experts. It will also broaden the direct influence of the Polish intelligentsia on the daily, practical decisions taken by the authorities. We wish to solicit the extensive co-operation of scholars, engineers, economists and men of letters who have invariably and selflessly offered the nation their minds, their hearts and the courage of their ideas. With particular respect we address Polish teachers, the educators of the young generation. We appreciate their enormous effort. The Government will do its utmost to take steps which will result in practical decisions corresponding more closely to the aspirations set out in the Teacher's Charter.

I have enumerated here just a few of the ways in which our system of popular rule might be enriched. There are many more. They originate in various social milieux and from various individuals. They are invariably thoroughly studied. We are open to any suggestion presented out of concern for the people's socialist aspirations.

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Poland is and will remain a democracy. This stems from the foundations of our ideology, from Socialism, the driving force of which is and will remain the Party.

No one in Poland, and here I also mean the Government, has a monopoly of wisdom; no one is infallible; no one enjoys an exclusive right to ideas and suggestions. These may come only as the fruit of the concerted, common effort of all Poles.

It is, however, outside the limits of democracy to yield to emotions of the moment. It often happens that a few decades pass and then those who used sabres to disperse a parliament, or who insulted the people, are termed democrats. A social democracy is a marriage of a great variety of social ideas with the over-riding needs of the State. It is such a democracy which the Government of the Polish People's Republic wishes to serve and protect.

What Poland needs is not words but deeds. Yet, there are words in our language which will stay alive and vital forever. Homeland is one such word. The State is another. The time has come for all of us to root the comprehension of these words deep in our minds and hearts.

Today Poland is in need of the wisdom of its people. The clock of history is striking the hour of severe trial. This test has to be passed. It can be passed and will be passed. We must return to the highway of progress and catch up with our times. Peace must be brought back to our homes and security and honest labour to our Homeland.

Whether these goals are reached depends on ourselves, and ourselves alone.

4.

Proclamation Over the National Radio and TV Networks 13 December 1981

Citizens of the Polish People's Republic!

I address you today as a soldier and as the head of the Government of Poland. I address you on matters of paramount importance.

Our country stands at the edge of an abyss.

The achievements of many generations, the Polish house raised from the ashes, are collapsing. The structures of the State are failing to operate. Fresh blows are continuously being dealt to the flagging economy. The people are finding it increasingly difficult to bear the burden of living conditions.

Distressing lines of division run through every workplace and through many Polish homes. The atmosphere of interminable conflict, controversy and hatred is sowing mental devastation and mutilating the traditions of tolerance. Strikes, strike alerts and protest actions have become the rule. Even schoolchildren are being drawn in. Yesterday evening, sit-ins were being staged in many public buildings. Calls are heard for a physical showdown with "the Reds", with people of differing views. Acts of intimidation, threats and moral lynching, as well as direct violence, are multiplying.

A wave of audacious offences, assaults and burglaries has swept across the country. Growing fortunes running into millions of zlotys are being made by leaders of the economic underworld. Chaos and demoralization have assumed disastrous proportions. The nation has reached the limits of mental endurance. Many people have been seized by despair.

A national catastrophe is no longer days but only hours away.

It would be dishonest not to pose the question: Did this have to come about? When I assumed the office of the Chairman of the Council of

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Ministers, I believed that we would be able to rise once again. Hence the question: Was everything done to halt the spiralling crisis?

History will be our judge. There have been shortcomings. We are drawing conclusions from them. Above all, however, the past months have been a busy time for the Government, which has had to cope with enormous difficulties. Unfortunately, the national economy was turned into an arena of political struggle. The deliberate undoing of government undertakings has meant that our results have been incompatible with the efforts made, with our intentions. Never could we be accused of a lack of good will, moderation or patience. Perhaps there was too much of it at times. The Government's respect for the social agreements is there to be seen. We have gone even further. The initiative to build a great national accord has won the support of millions of Poles. It created the opportunity to deepen the system of popular rule, to expand the scope of reform.

These hopes have now been foiled.

The leadership of Solidarity has been absent from the common table. The pronouncements in Radom and the debates in Gdańsk¹ have starkly revealed the true intentions of its leading circles. These intentions have been confirmed on a mass scale in everyday practice, in the intensified aggressiveness of the extremists and the overt bid for the complete dismantling of the Polish socialist state system.

How long can one wait for reason to prevail? How long can the hand extended in accord be met with a clenched fist? I say this with heavy heart, with enormous bitterness. It could have been different in our country. It should have been different.

Any further continuation of the present state of affairs would inevitably lead to catastrophe, to complete chaos, to poverty and hunger. The severe winter could multiply the damage and claim many victims, especially among the weakest, whom we are most anxious to protect.

In this situation, inactivity would be a crime towards the nation. We have to say: that is enough.

The road to confrontation, which has been openly forecast by Solidarity leaders, must be avoided and obstructed. It is today, precisely, that this must be announced, when we know the date of imminent, mass political demonstrations, some of them in the centre of Warsaw, to be organized in connection with the anniversary of the December events.² That tragedy must never be repeated. We must not, we have no right to permit the projected demonstrations to become the spark which could ignite the whole country. The nation's instinct for self-preservation must be allowed to take control; the hands of the trouble-makers must be tied before they push the Homeland into the abyss of fratricidal warfare.

The burden of responsibility which falls upon me at this dramatic moment in Polish history is great. It is my duty to shoulder this responsibility, for what

is at stake is the future of Poland, for which my generation fought on all the war-fronts and to which it gave the best years of its life.

I hereby announce that today a Military Council of National Salvation (WRON)³ has been constituted.

In conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, at midnight tonight the Council of State proclaimed martial law throughout the whole country.

I want everyone to understand the motives and objectives of our action. We are not heading toward a military coup or toward military dictatorship. The nation has sufficient strength and sufficient wisdom to develop an efficient democratic system of socialist government. In such a system the armed forces will be able to remain in their rightful place—the barracks. In the long run, none of Poland's problems can be resolved by force.

The Military Council of National Salvation is not replacing the constitutional organs of authority. Its sole aim is to protect legal order in the State, to create executive guarantees permitting order and discipline to be restored. This is the ultimate step to start leading the country out of the crisis, to save the State from disintegration.

The National Defence Committee has appointed plenipotentiary commissioners at all levels of state administration and in certain economic units. These plenipotentiary commissioners are empowered to supervise the activity of state administrative organs—from ministries to rural communities.

The proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation and the decrees published today define in detail the rules of public order for the duration of martial law.

The Military Council will be dissolved once the rule of law is established throughout the country and conditions are created for the normal functioning of the civil administration and representative bodies. As the internal situation is normalized, restrictions on public life will be limited or lifted.

But let no one count on weakness or irresolution.

In the name of the national interest, a group of persons who constitute a threat to state security have been taken into preventive internment. Among them are extremist activists of Solidarity and illegal anti-state organizations.

By order of the Military Council, several dozen persons who bear personal responsibility for leading the country into the severe crisis of the 1970s, or who have abused their official positions for personal advantage, have also been interned. Among them are Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Zdzisław Grudzien, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and others. A full list will be published.

We shall consistently cleanse Polish life of evil, no matter where it may emerge.

The Military Council will ensure conditions for a radical intensification of the struggle against crime. The activity of criminal gangs will be punished in the courts under summary juridical procedure.



PLATE 1. Sheltse on the Oka River, 11 November 1943. The passing-out parade at the Polish Officers' School in Ryazan. Wojciech Jaruzelski is third from the left, marching in the second row. 11 November was celebrated as Independence Day in Poland prior to World War II.

Niech żyje Wolna
Demokratyczna Polska !



Śmierć niemieckim
najeźdźcom !

Rozkazem z dnia 11 lutego 1945 r.
Naczelnny Wódz Armii Czerwonej, Marszałek Stalin,
wraża Wam

podporucznik JARUZELSKI Wojciech

(nazwisko, imię, stopień)

podziękowanie za udział w walkach o zdobycie miast: Złotów, Jastrów,
Rederitz, Frydląd Pomorski i innych miejscowości Zachodniego Pomorza

miejscowość pieczęć

15 lutego 1945 r.

d-ca pułku

(nazwisko, stopień)

PLATE 2. A message of congratulations, dated 15 February 1945, from the commander of the Fifth Infantry Regiment to First Lieutenant Wojciech Jaruzelski, on instructions from Marshal Stalin in connection with the overcoming of the Pomeranian Wall.

Naczelnny Dowódca Wojska Polskiego
gen. broni Rola-Zymierski
W IMIENIU SŁUŻBY

Śmierć niemieckim najeźdźcom !

wyraził Wam podpor. JARUZELSKI WOJCIECH rozkazem № 71 z dn. 17.4. 45

Pomocnik Szefa Sztabu 5 Pułku Piechoty.

podziękowanie

za Wasz udział w historycznym sforsowaniu przez
Jednostki 1-ej Armii W. P. rzeki ODRY, w prze-
niesieniu boju poza granice Odrodzonego Państwa
Polskiego na terytorium Niemiec. Jednostki 1-ej Armii
W. P. zasłużyły sobie na uznanie i miłość całego Narodu.

Nawiązując do swoich świętych traktatów, Wp. których, formacja Wasz, wywołała pierwsze polskie wojsko, a następnie
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PLATE 3. A message of thanks, dated 17 April 1945, from General Rola-Zymierski, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish armed forces for participation in the forcing of the Oder River.

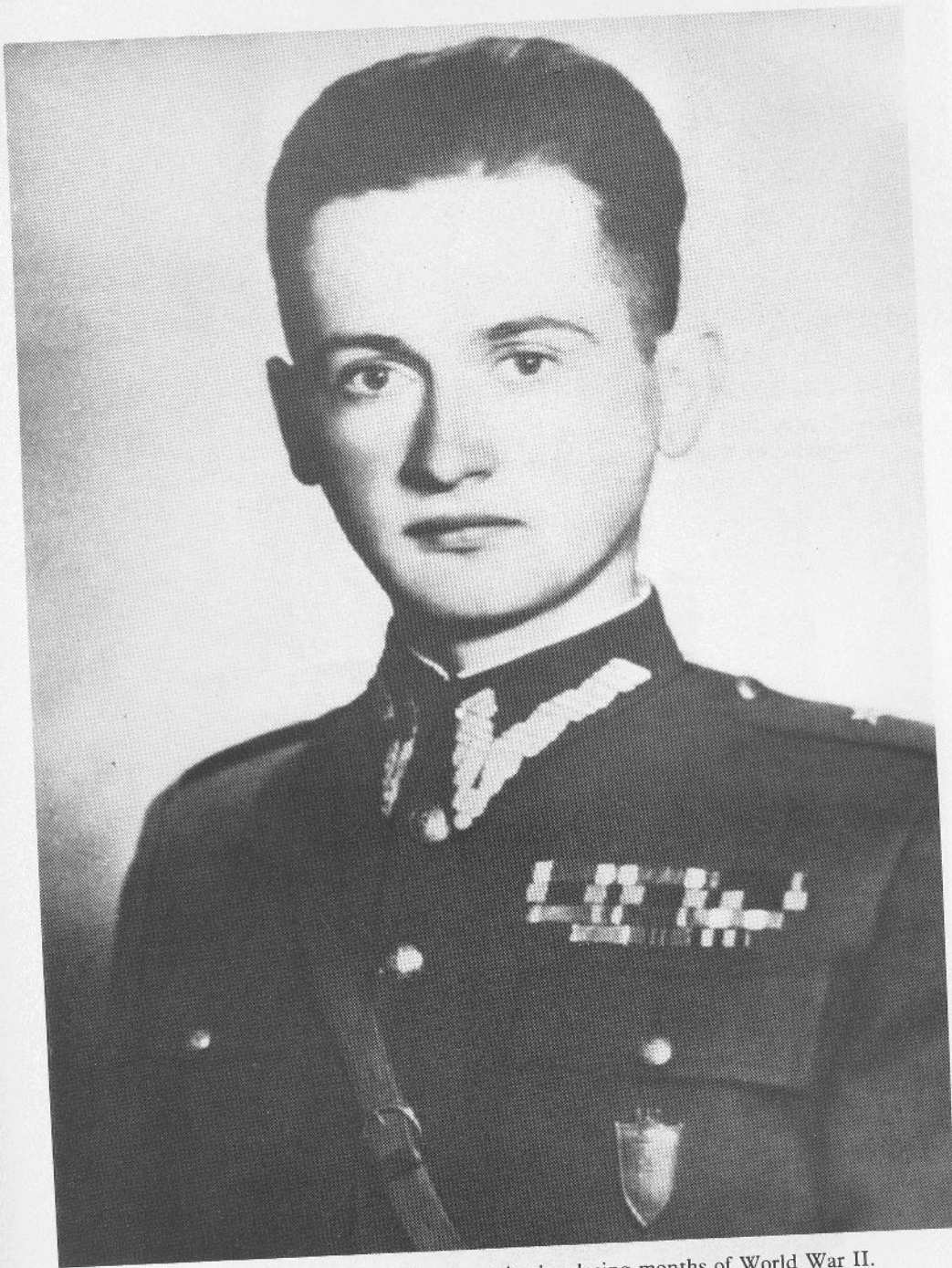


PLATE 4. As a young First Lieutenant in the closing months of World War II.



PLATE 5. May 1945. A group of foot reconnaissance from the Fifth Infantry Regiment, commanded by Wojciech Jaruzelski, in the vicinity of Cottbus, west of the Oder River.

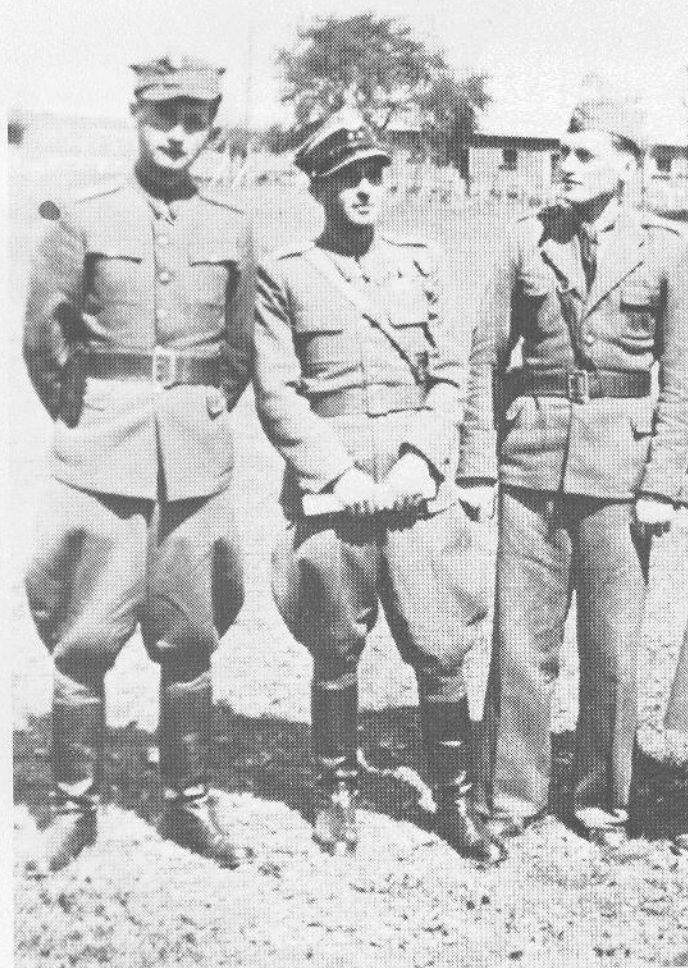


PLATE 6. Spring 1946. Wojciech Jaruzelski with a group of officer friends, in the small town of Hrubieszów in south-western Poland, a major operational region of the UPA fascist, terrorist grouping.

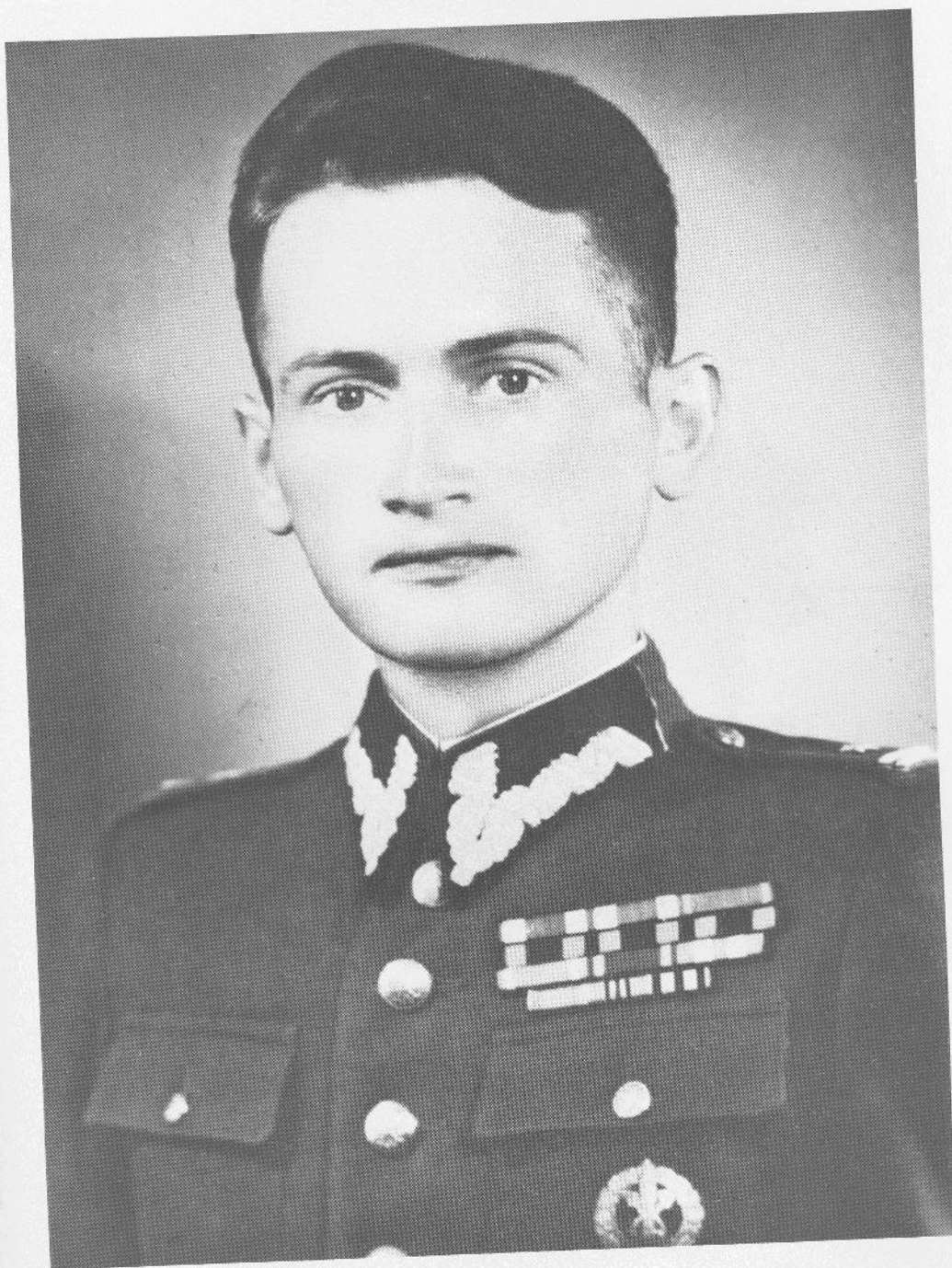


PLATE 7. As Major.



PLATE 8. August 1948. Lecturers at the Higher School of Infantry at Rembertów near Warsaw. Major Wojciech Jaruzelski is second from the right.

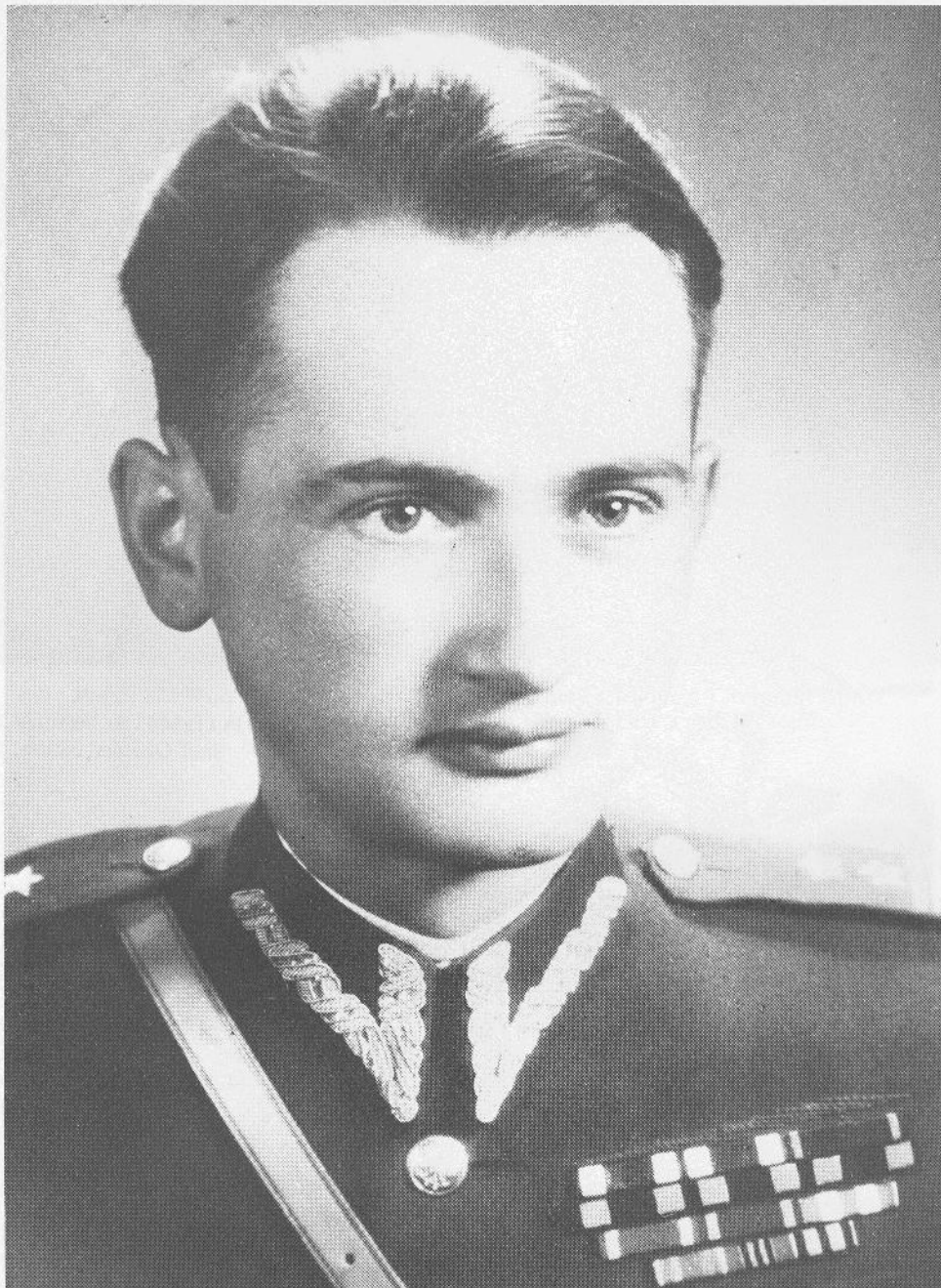


PLATE 9. As Lieutenant Colonel.



PLATE 10. At lectures on the
Staff Officers' course, 1958.



PLATE 11. At a summer scouts'
camp in the late 1950s.



PLATE 12. With Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese National Liberation Army, Peng-Te Huai, in the soldiers' mess of the 12th Division in Szczecin.



PLATE 13. Summer, 1960. On a tourist excursion to the famous Monte Cassino abbey in Italy, captured after heavy fighting in May 1944 by the Second Polish Corps.



PLATE 14. Wojciech Jaruzelski's wedding ceremony in the Szczecin Registry Office.



PLATE 15. Warsaw 1961. At a reception for the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Rodion Malinovsky.

PLATE 16



PLATE 17



PLATES 16-17. While holding the post of Chief of the General Staff, W. Jaruzelski made personal contact with representatives of the armed forces in other European countries. (PLATE 16) With General Almgren, Chief of the Swedish General Staff. (PLATE 17) With General Gigli, Chief of the Swiss General Staff.



PLATE 18. Addressing the troops during a military ceremony in Kraków.



PLATE 19. With General Charles de Gaulle, during his official visit to Poland in 1967, at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

PLATE 20. October
Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz
promoted to

PLATE

e troops
n Kraków.

PLATE 20. October 1968. Talking to Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz shortly after being promoted to three-star general.



PLATE 21. During Walter Ulbricht's visit for joint exercises of the Polish Armed Forces and the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic.

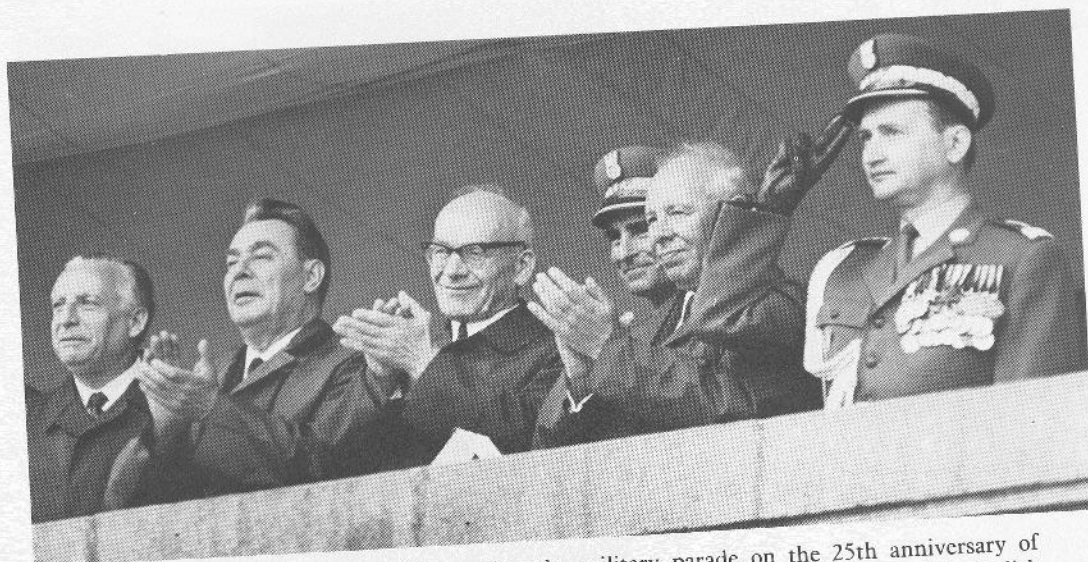


PLATE 22. Warsaw, 22 July 1969, during the military parade on the 25th anniversary of People's Poland. On Jaruzelski's right, in order: Nikolai Podgorny; First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, Władysław Gomułka; Leonid Brezhnev; Marshal Marian Spychalski.



PLATE 23. At the monument to the Defenders of Stalingrad. Marshal Sergei Sokolov, the Soviet Defence Minister, is a member of the group.



PLATE 24. February 1970. With Wladyslaw Gomulka, while presenting him with a commemorative album of the history of the Polish armed forces.



PLATE 25. Wojciech Jaruzelski makes a point of visiting Polish coal miners on their annual holiday, the 4th of December—St. Barbara's day.

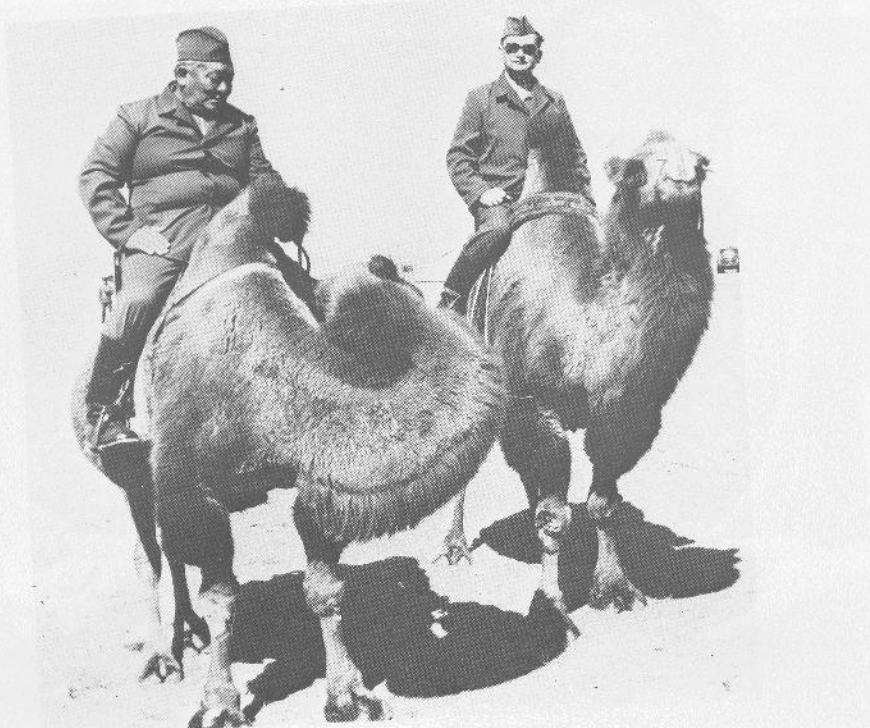


PLATE 26. In Mongolia, 1971. An experienced cavalryman can face even a ride on a camel with equanimity.

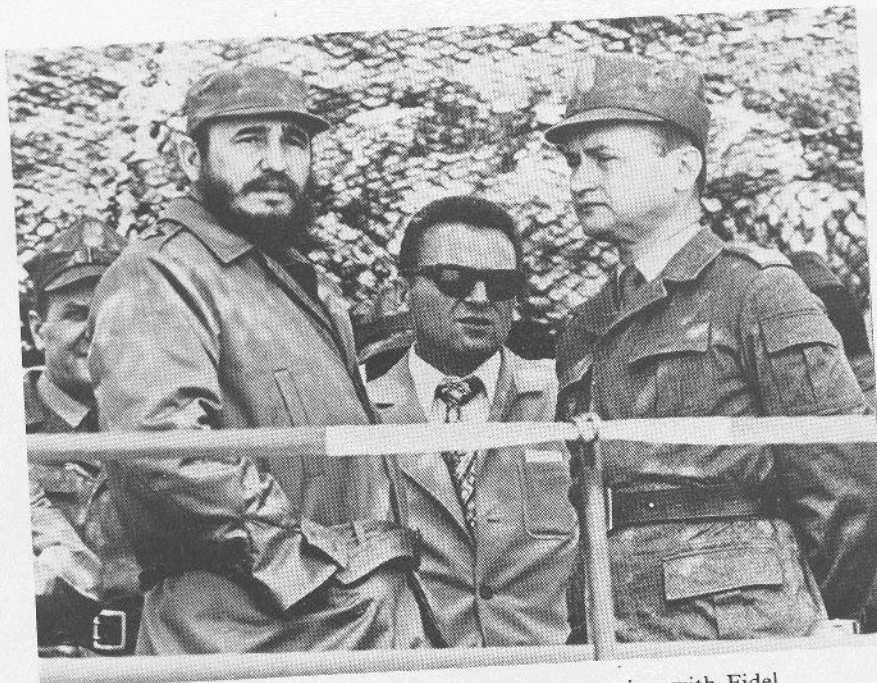


PLATE 27. May 1972. Watching military exercises with Fidel Castro Ruz during the latter's official visit to Poland.

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Persons who engage in large-scale black marketeering, who draw illegal incomes and who violate the norms of social coexistence will be prosecuted and punished with the full severity of the law. Illegally accumulated wealth will be confiscated.

Persons holding managerial posts who are found guilty of dereliction of duty, waste and particularism, abuse of office and insensibility to human problems will be summarily dismissed from their posts on the recommendation of the plenipotentiary military commissioners.

Respect for a man's labour must be restored. Respect for law and order must be ensured. The personal security of all who wish to live and work in peace must be guaranteed.

The provisions of a special decree envisage the pardoning and the consignment to oblivion of certain offences and encroachments against the interests of the State committed before 13 December of this year. It is not revenge that we seek. Anyone who without ill will let himself be carried away by emotions or submitted to perfidious influences can avail himself of this opportunity.

Citizens!

The Polish soldier has faithfully served and continues to serve his Homeland. He is invariably in the front line, in every hour of social need. Today, too, he will discharge his duty with honour.

The Polish soldier's hands are unsullied. To him, the pursuance of private interests is alien. He knows only the exigencies of military service. He has no other aim but the good of the nation.

Recourse to the assistance of the army is and can only be of a temporary, extraordinary nature. The army will not replace the normal mechanisms of socialist democracy. But democracy can only be introduced and developed in a strong and law-abiding State. Anarchy is the negation and enemy of democracy.

We are but a drop in the stream of Polish history. It is made up not of glorious pages alone. It also contains dark pages: *liberum veto*,⁴ pursuit of personal profit and bickering. The result was downfall and defeat. This tragic circle must be broken. We cannot afford another repetition of history.

We desire a great Poland—a Poland great in her achievements, her culture, her social organization and her standing in Europe. The only road to this goal is Socialism, accepted by society, constantly enriched by experience. This is the Poland we shall build. This Poland we shall defend.

In this task, Party members have a special role to fulfil. Despite all the errors and bitter setbacks, the Party is still an active and creative force in the process of historic transformation. To perform its leading mission effectively and fruitfully, to co-operate with the forces allied with it, the Party must be

supported by high-minded, modest and courageous people; people who in every community would be recognized as champions of social justice, for the good of the country. Such is its destiny.

The eternally vital sources of our ideology will be purged of deformities and distortions. The universal values of Socialism will be protected and constantly enriched with national elements and traditions. In this way, socialist ideals will become more closely associated with the majority of the nation, non-party working people, the younger generation, and also with the healthy trend within Solidarity, especially the working class, which by its own efforts and in its own interest will break with the prophets of confrontation and counter-revolution.

Such is our conception of the idea of national accord. Such is the ideal we uphold. We respect the existence of a multitude of philosophical views. We appreciate the patriotic stance of the Church. There is a supreme aim which unites all self-regarding, responsible Poles: it is love of the Motherland; the necessity to strengthen the independence won with such effort; respect for our own State. This is the most solid foundation on which genuine agreement could be built.

Just as there is no retreat from Socialism, so there is also no return to the improper methods and practices of before August 1980. The steps taken today are designed to preserve the basic premises of socialist renewal. All important reforms will be continued in conditions of public order, practical discussion and discipline. This also applies to the economic reform.

I make no promises. A difficult period lies ahead. It is necessary today to recognize the harsh realities, to understand that sacrifices are required to ensure a better tomorrow.

The one thing I want to achieve is peace. This is the basic condition from which a better future should begin. Ours is a sovereign country. Therefore, we must overcome this crisis ourselves. With our own hands we must avert the danger. History would not forgive the present generation were this chance wasted.

An end must be put to the further degradation to which the international position of our State is being subjected. A country of 36 million inhabitants in the heart of Europe cannot remain endlessly in the humiliating role of supplicant. We cannot help noticing that derisory opinions about a "Republic which stands by anarchy" have reappeared. Let us spare no effort to ensure that such opinions be consigned to the lumber-room of history.

At this difficult moment I address myself to our socialist allies and friends. We highly appreciate their trust and constant assistance. The Polish-Soviet alliance is and will remain the cornerstone of the existence of the Polish state, the guarantee of the inviolability of our frontiers. Poland is and will remain a durable link in the Warsaw Treaty, a reliable member of the socialist community of nations.

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I also address our partners in other countries with whom we wish to develop good and friendly relations.

I address the whole of world public opinion. I appeal for understanding for the exceptional situation which has come to pass in Poland, and for the emergency measures which have become necessary. Our actions endanger no one. Their only objective is to remove internal threats and thereby to prevent danger to peace and international co-operation. We intend to abide by all the treaties and agreements we have concluded. It is our desire that the name of Poland may always evoke respect and sympathy in Europe and the world.

Fellow Countrymen!

Brothers and Sisters!

I address you all as a soldier who remembers well the atrocities of war. May not a single drop of Polish blood be spilt in this harassed country, which has experienced so many defeats and so much suffering. By common effort let us banish the spectre of civil war. Let not barricades be built where a bridge is needed!

I address you, Polish workers. For the sake of the motherland, forgo your inalienable right to strike for as long as will be necessary to overcome our most severe difficulties. Everything must be done to ensure that the fruits of your hard labour be never again wasted.

I address you, citizens of the older generation. Save from obscurity the truth of the war years and of the difficult period of reconstruction. Hand this truth down to your sons and your grandsons. Pass on to them your ardent patriotism, your readiness to make sacrifices for the good of your Homeland.

I address you, Polish mothers, wives and sisters. Take every care that no more tears be shed in Polish families.

I address you, young Polish men and women. Display civic maturity and reflect deeply on your own future, on the future of the Motherland.

I address you, teachers, creators of science and culture, men of technology, doctors and journalists. At this dangerous turn in our history, may reason prevail over inflamed emotions and an intellectual interpretation of patriotism over illusory myths.

I address you, my comrades in arms, soldiers of the Polish army, on active service and in the reserve. For better or for worse, remain faithful to your oath of allegiance to the Motherland. Today, the destiny of the country depends on your response.

I address you, functionaries of the People's Militia and the Security Service. Protect the State against the enemy and the working people against lawlessness and violence.

I address all Polish citizens. The hour of severe trial has struck. We must survive this trial and prove that "we deserve Poland".

My Fellow Countrymen!

Before the entire Polish nation and the whole world I wish to repeat the immortal words: Poland has not yet perished, so long as we still live.

Notes

1. **Radom and Gdańsk.** This is a reference to the period directly preceding the imposition of martial law, when the Solidarity leadership let it be known quite openly that they were heading for confrontation with the constitutional authorities of the country. In Radom on 3 December 1981 the presidium of the Solidarity National Committee conclusively rejected the concept of a Front of National Accord and announced that if the authorities did not give in to numerous far-reaching demands, couched in terms of an ultimatum, a general strike would be held. On 11 and 12 December 1981 the full National Committee met in Gdańsk to approve the decisions taken in Radom.
2. **1970 December incidents.** In December 1970 the workers made a strong protest against the social and economic policy of the erstwhile Government and Party leadership. In the coastal cities of Gdańsk, Gdynia and Szczecin street disturbances and scuffles with the police took place, and a number of deaths were registered.
3. **Military Council of National Salvation (WRON).** This council was established on the night of the 12/13 December 1981 as an emergency body to assist the Polish constitutional authorities in imposing respect for the law and public order throughout the country. The council comprised twenty-one high-ranking military officers, with General Jaruzelski as Chairman.
4. ***Liberum veto*—I am free to prevent.** This was a principle in force in Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which made it possible for any member of Parliament or of a local noblemen's council to break up its session or overturn decisions already approved by expressing a simple verbal protest, without offering any justification. This ludicrous degradation of democratic freedoms greatly weakened the Polish state and was instrumental in its later collapse. Today this term is used as a symbol of high-handedness and anarchy.

5.

Speech Delivered Before the *Sejm*^{*} of
the Polish People's Republic
25 January 1982

Excerpts

Poland has not perished, for Poland cannot perish.

Such is the ultimate maxim. It was this maxim which defined the motives and purposes behind the creation of the Military Council for National Salvation. In its function as administrator of martial law, the Council gives its backing to the constitutional authorities of the State, creating the imperative conditions for them to perform their inalienable functions. Up to 13 December of last year these functions were catastrophically disturbed. The stability and security of the State were undermined, the economy was flagging and the horrific vision of fratricidal combat loomed ever nearer.

The Council of State introduced martial law at the last moment, at the very brink.

The supreme, sovereign authority of the Polish nation is to be found here, in this hall. The will of the nation is exemplified by Parliament and the Council of State. The Polish soldier swears allegiance to the legal authorities. The armed forces cannot stand passively by when the ultimate need arises. Such is their implacable duty toward the Land in which they were born. This Land has seen so much soldier's blood spilt and absorbed so much soldier's sweat down the years. From this the armed forces find the moral strength to perform their duty.

The mounting danger has become evident to all and sundry. The most direct contact has been experienced by the People's Militia and the Security Service, who have continuously had to encounter it in the front line. A ceaseless spate of information on this danger has been delivered. It has been

^{*} Parliament (*Ed.*).

no secret to laymen and clergy, to civilians and military, to workers and farmers, to writers and men of learning. It was no secret either to foreign countries, including government representatives, who were brought up-to-date on various occasions. May I point out the warning resolutions passed by Parliament, calling for peace and accord. May I also draw attention to the statements by Deputies of this House, to the calls by political parties and Government, and to the declarations and appeals.

A whole library might be formed of these warnings and exhortations, offers and appeals.

Regrettably, they have all proved of no avail. Accord was anathema to the extremist forces of Solidarity, who saw their over-riding purpose in the destruction of the socialist State.

I charge those forces with:

- working for confrontation;
- paralysing the Government, fomenting hatred and continuously violating the law;
- terrorizing by strikes, ruining the economy, imperilling the country's alliances and security;
- abusing the trust of millions of honest people who were increasingly being dragged into a perilous vortex.

To those at home and abroad who condemn the decisions of the Polish authorities today, I put these questions: Why were tongues silent when the country faced incalculable tragedy? Why was no warning voice heard? Why was a dispassionate view absent? Let such voices now be heard. Let us close this dramatic chapter in Polish history. But let martial law not be treated simply as an order-imposing operation, after which everything will revert to its old ways. Clearly, it is no normal state of affairs. But what existed prior to 13 December was infinitely more abnormal.

The greatest achievement since then has been peace. Anarchy has been brought to a halt. The crime rate has dropped substantially. The economy is gradually regaining its normal rhythm wherever materials for production are not lacking. The administration is functioning better. The winter has not been sparing us. Its outcome would have been simply unimaginable if the country were still involved in strikes and social tensions, if the organization and discipline of martial law had not been imposed, and if it were not for the rising volume of extraction of coal. Our international situation is a highly complex one. I wish to speak frankly, without diplomatic subtleties. It was in this country that the process of dismantling the postwar pattern of forces in Europe was to have begun, extending next to a world-wide dimension. The foundations of peace in Europe—the Yalta and Potsdam agreements—were to be shattered in order to bring about destabilization and win unilateral supremacy, and the Polish people would have had to pay the cost. Such an

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objective proved unattainable prior to 13 December. Now attempts are being made to reach it by way of threats, boycott and so-called sanctions. We pay tribute to the realistic and far-sighted policy of those governments and political and economic entities who have refused to submit themselves to diktat and who are steadfast in defending their right to take sovereign decisions. We note this today and shall remember it well in the future. Regrettably, acts of psychological and propagandist aggression are being directed against Poland by the North Atlantic Treaty States. The economic weapon, including that of food, has been wielded against Poland. It is being claimed that the economic sanctions are aimed against the Government of the Polish People's Republic, against the Military Council for National Salvation. That is untrue. At the end of the day, the sanctions hurt the Polish nation and every individual Pole.

The purpose of the sanctions is clear: to paralyse the economy, to make it impossible to resolve the crisis, to conquer by hunger and to provoke internal conflict. Such are the dimensions of this professed humanitarianism. Such is the lesson that will have to be learned by heart. The Polish people are to be punished because they refused to allow a sacrificial pyre to be ignited in the heart of Europe, on which their State could burn; because, for once, they proved wise before harm could be inflicted.

Hypocrisy knows no limits, for here you have a government which has for years foiled all attempts to apply sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, that great concentration camp, but has displayed not the slightest hesitation in applying sanctions against Poland. The head of the Polish Government is not demanding that the handcuffed leaders of the Air Traffic Controllers' Union be freed from American prisons. The Polish Government has not issued statements reviewing how human rights are respected in Northern Ireland. The Polish Parliament has not been debating whether the ban, existing in the Federal Republic of Germany, on persons of nonconformist views performing their profession is consistent with the Declaration of Human Rights. We respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. But we have the right to expect reciprocity. It is simply incongruous and anachronistic that various countries should dictate who is to negotiate with whom in Poland. That is the language which the colonial powers spoke in the nineteenth century.

Never have the Polish people bowed to a foreign ultimatum. Clearly not everyone abroad comprehends Polish history, or this nation's sense of pride and dignity. Discord and conflict exist in this country, but no one from the outside is going to resolve them.

Similarly, we reject those insinuations which claim that the decision on martial law was imposed as a result of external prompting. Attempts are being made to persuade anyone willing to listen that a sovereign, socialist country with a thousand-year-long history of statehood and boasting a strong army is

an immature child that can be led by the hand. The truth is that this was our own decision, taken after our own due deliberation and implemented by our own forces.

It is to be regretted that the role of principal instigator of anti-Polish activities has been assumed by the present United States Government. This is a country with which Poland is bound by traditional links of friendship. We cherish the hope that a return to realism will ensue.

These attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs are flagrantly contradictory to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. It is obvious that we have no intention of standing indicted before any usurpatory tribunal. We shall not be present at conferences where Poland would appear as an accused party. The events in Poland have offered danger to no-one. The opposite is true: we have halted the danger of destabilization in Europe. We have been instrumental in maintaining peace.

True, some civil liberties have been temporarily suspended in Poland. The reasons have been widely explained. But these reasons have somehow not got through to the public. The freedom of a notable section of the Western press does not extend so far. But it does reach far enough to be able to feed its readers with absurd items of gossip. More often than not these hair-raising tales concern persons under preventive detention. A group from the International Red Cross was recently able to see for itself just how much truth this gossip contains.

We have nothing to conceal. There are instigators of anti-socialist activity among the interned, as well as organizers of social tension and leaders and members of illegal, anti-state organizations. There are also among them persons whose reason has gone astray, who have become engrossed in such activity, not fully conscious of what they are doing. They must think over their errors on their own and recover a sense of responsibility and political reason.

The group of internees also includes those who are mainly responsible for leading the country into deep crisis.

We do not apply the principle of collective responsibility. No-one is being punished for his convictions. Internment is of a temporary, individual nature. It is a peremptory expedient but, surely, not the harshest measure when compared with the degree of danger implied in the activity of the persons interned.

The questions facing each citizen of Poland today are: What happens next? How can the crisis be overcome? What guarantees exist that the extraordinary measures will not have a directly contradictory effect and that the errors of yesterday will, indeed, be surmounted?

It has been said in the past that sometimes you can do something for the Poles but never anything with them. The truth is rather different. Nothing

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endurable can be built in defiance of the nation or the working class, contrary to the ideals of Socialism. Only the Polish people can build a socialist Poland.

There can be no return to the improper methods of government practised prior to August 1980. The Party has severely condemned and rejected all distortions and deviations from the ideological and moral principles of Socialism.

Many persons have left public life in the wake of the past stormy events. Harm has been done to them and groundless accusations levelled. The moral terror unleashed by the enemies of Socialism has wounded honest and worthy persons. They must be granted satisfaction.

But the opposite is also true. Under the shield of martial law attempts are being made by those who were justifiably removed from their posts after August 1980 to rise again to prominence. We can never agree to this.

The military are not and will not become a protective armour for anyone who has fostered the present crisis, be it from ill-will or incompetence, or for those who have comprehended nothing of the harsh lesson and still desire to operate along the old lines. And we have no intention of protecting anyone against responsibility for the present or the past, regardless of post, party affiliation or past merits.

Emotions are understandable, but social life cannot be built on emotions. We shall uncompromisingly combat the foes of the socialist State, the leaders and instigators of anarchy. But we firmly reject revenge and any paying off of old scores. There are too many conflicts in Poland to allow their number to multiply. We should display indulgence to those who did not act out of ill-will but were themselves deluded.

We shall not treat with the enemy. But agreement is required with honest people who have erred and are frustrated. And wrongs done must be redressed.

The Polish people cannot be segregated into worse and better. There are only those who work for their country and those who are hindering it. We shall ask no-one where he came from if he is honestly committed to putting the common house in order and rebuilding it.

We undertake to clear the field for the future. We are leaving the past behind. It held conflicts, serious errors and tragedy for many people. But above all it held lasting values: the great work of postwar reconstruction, the historic advance of the workers and peasants, national industrialization, and the development of science and culture. It is impossible to paint the biography of People's Poland in dark colours alone.

The future lies ahead: the 1980s, the twenty-first century. At all costs we must meet the challenge of history. This requires time and will occupy each pair of Polish hands. The wisdom, memory and experience of the older generation are needed, as is the enthusiasm of the young—all of this nation's strength and talents.

We must believe in ourselves. The supposed Polish inability to see things through must be disproved once and for all. What is holding Poland back must be rejected, and what is of value—approved and developed, together with what has proved positive to the country's life in the past decade. After all, it has not been an unbroken series of errors. And the values which have been introduced in the post-August 1980 period must also be verified. Such values do exist.

In this speech I cannot avoid those issues which count for most in the life of the man in the street. However, the exceptional and serious nature of the moment requires that I refer to issues on a wider, historical scale, in the first place.

I would ask the House to pardon this moment of truth, these bitter and harsh words. Almost every Polish generation has to face questions which other nations have answered long ago.

The question we pose today is: How could a country potentially as prosperous as Poland find itself at the nadir of a humiliating, chronic crisis? How is it possible that other socialist countries could attain substantial progress in the same period in which we became submerged in difficulties? Why does democracy in Poland so rapidly transform itself into anarchy, and the apparatus of government become distorted so easily?

The errors and guilt of governing circles are self-evident. But that is not the whole truth about Poland.

Government in Poland is not limited to a narrow elite, to a central leadership. In various forms it is in the hands of tens and hundreds of thousands of persons. The office and shop, the hospital and post office, the school and the workplace often show examples of improper civic and human attitudes.

And those who created a counter-government in the country have recently started displaying arrogance, greed and dictator-like aspirations, rejecting criticism after only a few months had elapsed. These give fresh force to the arguments of those who claim that the Poles cannot govern themselves.

How often we make life difficult for one another instead of easier. We search for guilty parties everywhere, but not in ourselves. It is often said that rarely can a Pole be found who does not feel hurt and frustrated, regardless of his personal contribution to the shaping of the collective prosperity.

The time has come when all of us, Government and society alike, must undertake a joint soul-searching. If the conclusions from our trouble-fraught history are to serve the future, they must be drawn today.

Poland's international position has deteriorated. A state afflicted by international chaos and conflicts, and forced out of its traditional export markets, can never enjoy a strong standing. The voices of the weak are not listened to. Countries running big debts are looked down on.

Poland's position began to totter before 13 December. Time will prove this.

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But Poland will return to her proper place in the socialist community, Europe and the world. There are some who already understand this. Their number will increase.

The strength or weakness of the Polish State reflects on the European pattern of forces. The opposite is also true: Poland's future depends on peace, on the stability of political relations in this continent. Our country is and will be integrally linked with the policy of peace and *détente*. It is our desire to continue Poland's contribution to this policy.

Tensions and dangers are looming in Europe. Weaponry stockpiles are bulging. A far-sighted view must be taken to ensure Poland's security and the inviolability of her frontiers, her lasting presence on the map and at the negotiating table. Poland's place, not only geographically, is within the socialist constellation of countries and in the Warsaw Treaty, among equal and friendly countries. They have all offered economic assistance to Poland in these troubled days and displayed confidence that we would be able to repulse the threat to Socialism in this country with recourse solely to our own forces. We are sincerely grateful for this internationalist attitude.

Our foreign policy is rooted in the Polish-Soviet alliance. Regular deliveries of goods, in quantities as planned and over and above the plan, flowed in from the Soviet Union even when that great socialist power was being reviled in Poland and the graves of Soviet soldiers desecrated. This was assistance calculable in roubles and convertible currencies. These were Soviet "sanctions", which we value highly.

We have remarked with respect and satisfaction that those governments which have advocated an active policy of international accord have given evidence of their practical, realistic attitude to the events in Poland. Some friendly Governments have also granted us aid. For this we are grateful.

Those forms of socialist democracy which have passed the test of time and which were violated must be reconstructed on another basis, reflecting a higher level of social development.

It was not Socialism which failed in Poland, but lack of Socialism. The class character of our State must be renewed. The role of the workers and farms must be consolidated and delineated by modernized legal and organizational structures.

Socialist democracy must be substantiated and enriched by values which coincide with the moral and social essence of Socialism. One such value is attitude to one's job. Higher labour productivity and better labour management are ensured by the requisite economic mechanisms. That is the direction in which the economic reform is tending. But that is still insufficient. The whole system of education, personnel policy, the wages structure and the system of taxation—all that is decisive for the individual's place in society—must be permeated with respect for work, indeed, with a kind of cult of labour. It would be fruitless to conceal that many forms of social

demoralization have appeared: idleness, bribery, swindling. This is a dangerous phenomenon which bodes ill for the future.

The right to work guaranteed by the State and the duty to work are indivisible. Socialism cannot be some kind of an asylum for loafers. Those who would like to live off society, the black-marketeers, must be made to feel out of place in Poland. Martial law, with its severe regulations, simplifies the first steps in the firm struggle with parasitism, with domestic millionaires who neither sow nor reap but enjoy the good things of life. We must act more strongly to rid ourselves of the plagues of drunkenness, hooliganism and thieving. This will be pursued within the law, but with no special care for delicacy.

Social justice, which is the most distinguishing feature of Socialism, must regain its splendour and literal application. It is not our intention to pursue the falsely conceived equality for all. High-productivity labour, work better than the average and special talents must be properly rewarded. No man in his proper senses could refute that. But in our social system the interests of the individual and the community are interlinked.

Maximum wages and incomes must remain in proper proportion to the living standards of the basic social strata.

In times of want, justice requires that the criteria of distribution be much more stringent. There can be no talk of social justice if goods in short supply are not allocated according to that principle and the burden of the crisis not spread thereby.

Social justice must become a lasting, immutable principle of social life, rooted so firmly that each and every citizen may sense the dominance of Socialism in this area.

Public knowledge of the incomes of all officials, from the heads of rural communities to the Prime Minister, is guaranteed. We appeal to all organizations within the country to take similar steps. The principle of public access to all housing allocation lists and to the manner in which goods in short supply are distributed, must be strictly respected.

Each employee of the State and economic administration performing a specific managerial function must assume the statutory duty to present declarations on his personal estate when assuming his post. A similar declaration will be required on leaving his post. The appropriate control bodies will decide whether the improvement in his possessions has been in accordance with the law.

One cannot choose the history of one's country. One cannot exchange it for another. A nation's history is inherited with all that it contains, the good and the bad. But a selection should be made in the historical heritage. Everything must be salvaged which has worked for the prosperity of the State and nation, and all that has led to dissipation and disaster must be rejected.

Our traditions are long and illustrious. We have written fine chapters in the

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history of progressive social thinking. But today the same battle is being fought against the forces of reaction, anarchy and parochial mentality as our predecessors waged.

It is our intention to reach more fully to the traditional patriotic and civic values which are deeply rooted in the Polish mentality. Time has blurred many previous conflicts and has verified many an oversimplified assessment. No subjects should be avoided and passed over in Polish history, particularly that history with which the younger generation comes into contact. We do not fear history—it is us that history has proved right. One in three, if not one in two families, has relatives and kinsmen to the east of the River Bug or to the west of the Oder, in all continents. This is one of the unusually complex characteristic features of the Polish nation's past. The anti-Polish campaigns which have recently been organized in the West are an evil both to this country and to Polish emigrant groups. Their purpose is to drive a wedge between this country and persons of Polish origin living abroad, using traitors and deserters as instruments. This could result in the protracted rupture of the natural links existing between hundreds of thousands of Polish families.

Once martial law is lifted, the Government will continue the passport policy initiated in April 1981. I feel sure that by pursuing the line of renewal also in passport policies the weakening of these ties will be avoided and the creation of a gap between Poland and Polonia communities will be prevented. There will be no war between Poland and Poland inside this country. Nor will there be war between Poland and Polish emigrant groups.

Poland lives between doubt and hope. When will the wounds heal? How long will it take to overcome the crisis? Such are the questions preying on each Polish family's mind.

I see a difficult and harsh time ahead, a time of sacrifice and labour. We should never mark time and become involved in squabbles when other nations are marching on. The distance is growing instead of narrowing. Hence the need to reach accord is all the more urgent. The stakes are high: the consolidation of independence and sovereignty, the strengthening of the socialist State and the regaining of the position Poland used to occupy in Europe. Early in this century a poet appealed that we should "feel the need to do". As the century approaches its close, this appeal should be repeated. It is we and we alone who will be able to pull the country out of poverty and adversity.

Today, we are in a predicament, hit by a crisis. But we can boast one immeasurable treasure: we are in our own home and on our own land. We have a socialist State, saved from ruin. And in certain sectors and areas of the economy signs of improvement can be observed. I would not like to exaggerate their significance, but they cannot be neglected. We express our gratitude to the miners for the coal and copper, the rising volumes of which are permitting a deeper breath to be taken. The Government will respect its

promises to the miners. Their onerous labour will be highly rewarded. The temporary extension of working time in the national economy and improved discipline are already bringing tangible effects. These would be greater were it not for the effects of the blockade. According to the economists, a certain improvement in the domestic market may appear as early as the second half of this year. It may be that the most painful problems will be behind us within a year. Market equilibrium will be reinstated within two or three years. There is one condition: that peace within the country will not be disturbed, that we shall get down to work with a will, that we shall be economically more effective and that there will be no recurrence of the disease. That is what I appeal for, to the nation, from this Parliament. At this historic hour a danger and an opportunity face us simultaneously. The choice has to be made. I am convinced we shall not fail; that we shall rescue our Homeland.

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6.

Speech Delivered Before the *Sejm** of
the Polish People's Republic
9 October 1982

Excerpts

A momentous meeting of the Polish *Sejm* is coming to an end. A further step has been taken along an uneven and arduous road.

The economic, social and psychological causes of the numerous problems with which we have to wrestle today are rooted both in contemporary developments and in the past. However, not everyone wants or is able to comprehend this. Emotions on which nothing durable can be built are rising to the surface. Distrust and pig-headedness abound. Sometimes slander as well. This is nothing new in our history. I believe, however, that the future will convince those who are unconvinced; that history will pass fair judgement on our efforts.

The purpose of this Government is not to seek applause. The purpose of this Government is to act in accordance with the mandate of the *Sejm*, in line with the interests of the State and nation. The awareness of that duty often compels us to sail against the stream of the social mood. It is no secret what has been the outcome of sailing with the current, and of the desire to accommodate everyone at the same time.

The Party, the people's authority, has undertaken a thorough, self-critical evaluation of the past. However, one cannot stand forever in sackcloth and ashes. Nobody in the world has done so or is doing so. The history of People's Poland cannot be revoked. There must be no talk of squandered periods in it. None of them can be wholly adopted as an example to follow, but neither can they be totally condemned nor written off. After all, they were years of great national effort and achievement. This cannot solve the present difficulties,

* Parliament (*Ed.*).

but they may be used to draw conclusions, so that what was evil may not recur.

This was done by the 9th Party Congress. Its innovative programme is being translated into social practice. This is no tactical operation; it is a necessity. To depart today from the line of the renewal would mean to act against Socialism, against the will of the nation.

Poland's future will be prosperous only if socialist democracy develops wisely, creatively and consistently. That can be ensured only by a strong, efficient law-abiding State. To assume that the freedom of the citizen consists in curtailing the rights and interests of the State is a dangerous illusion.

In the past, Poland paid the highest price for that illusion. The "golden freedom" opposed to the interests of statehood entombed Poland as an independent State for some century and a half.¹ When the State becomes weak, democracy turns into anarchy. When, on the other hand, arrogance and high-handed and haughty official attitudes prevail, the strength of the State becomes illusory.

Recent years have reaffirmed this. The mirage of any easy economic and cultural success—the image of a "smartly painted Poland"—disregarding realities, has dissipated. It is this image, however, that lies at the root of the current economic crisis. It produced painful effects in the form of prematurely raised expectations without practical justification. The result has been a decrease of social activity. Hence the workers' protest of 1980.

The demagogic image of a "moon-landscape Poland" also suffered. Prosperity was to be created on the ruins of the economy. An unending flood of demands was presented to the State. Few people remembered that the State, too, was due something. Mistakenly understood freedom and democracy lost their class character. They became their own negation. Finally, they posed a threat to the very foundations of Poland's existence. Martial law has put a halt to this destructive distortion.

The duty of the authorities is to create a solid structure in which socialist democracy can develop. We are now moving along that road more boldly and consistently than ever before. We are conscious that the social response to the reforms now under way is not yet proportionate to their true, long-term significance. A section of society still nurses a feeling of distrust and this is intentionally fanned by our opponents. Martial law creates psychological barriers as well. The important thing, however, is to look to the future.

The laws adopted by this House have imparted the power of law to the process of socialist renewal. The role of this people's Parliament, its social prestige, has increased. The present legislative activity of the supreme organ of authority is unprecedented in Polish history. It is no longer just the "working *Sejm*" so frequently demanded by public opinion but, of late, a *Sejm* which is downright overworked. The number of draft bills on the agenda at present is particularly large. Opinions have been voiced that it is even excessively large.

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That, however, confirms our determination to create the legal foundations for the process of the reforms swiftly and irrevocably. The system of socialist self-management is being created and expanded. Several advisory and consultative bodies are in active operation. Consultation with industrial workers on key social decisions is increasingly frequent. All in all, a new quality is emerging in this country's social and political image. It requires a new style of work. We must all learn to employ the institutions and instruments of socialist democracy effectively.

Yesterday the House approved the Law on Trade Unions. It opens a new, extremely important stage in the union movement. It constitutes a momentous step on the road to the normalization of social life, enriching its democratic forms.

But already, at home and abroad, voices have been raised—and their number will surely increase—which represent yesterday's Act as a breach of obligations, a betrayal of the workers' hopes; that it constitutes an attempt to turn the clock in Poland back to the period before August 1980.

That is a lie. The true intentions of the authorities towards the independent, self-governing trade unions are best illustrated by the facts.

Could force have been used in August 1980? Yes, it could have.

Could martial law have been declared earlier? Yes, that was possible, too. The authorities had ample means, the same as today, at their disposal.

Could the trade unions have been disbanded immediately upon the declaration of martial law? Yes, the possibility existed.

Was it possible, even yesterday, to accord different treatment to the various hitherto existing trade unions? Yes, it was possible.

These are unquestionable proofs of our sincere intentions, our desire to create equal opportunities for all the unions.

Nothing that can be said by the spokesmen of major capitalist centres—who pretend today to be the friends of the Polish working class—can undermine this. Only the very naïve could fail to understand that in this continuing anti-Polish campaign it is not the trade unions that matters but the struggle against Socialism.

The situation in the Polish union movement has become an extremely complicated tangle of sociopolitical, psychological and moral problems. The deadlock absolutely must be broken.

The union movement can and will be neither an extension of the administration nor an anti-socialist political grouping. The new unions must be independent and fully self-governing. The essence of the social agreements concluded two years ago remains immutable for today and tomorrow.

Trade unions should at the same time be a sensor of tension in an early warning system. Frankly, it is better for them to be subject to working-class control than to wait until errors accumulate and generate a situation fraught with conflict. The socialist authorities need a true partner—a partner who will

not be afraid to tell blunt, home truths, to criticize and even to protest, but who will also assume the burden of co-responsibility when the situation so requires.

The *Sejm* has only given the unions a legal framework. The final shape of the reborn trade union movement will be determined by the working people and nobody else. Richer for so many instructive experiences, they will assess and return whatever was reasonable and valuable in every union trend, and will oppose whatever had led it astray. To make this possible, realities should be separated from emotions. Symbols are important, but not the most important. What chiefly matters is the trade union's proper place in social life. What matters is its genuine function of guardian of the interests of the working people.

The bitterness displayed by many unionists is understandable. We understand their attachment to the name *Solidarity*, and to their memory of that union's youthful, emotional dynamics. Never has the whole of this multi-million movement been totally condemned. A clear distinction has always been drawn between the rank and file and the belligerent extremists. Many factory chapters of *Solidarity* acted in accordance with its Statute. It could have been the same everywhere, but it wasn't. The leaders of *Solidarity* sneered at the law, ruined the economy, and not only fought against the Party and the Government, but also insulted the *Sejm*, which means all Deputies without exception, including those who have forgotten this.

We realize that the members of the industrial branch trade unions have been hard done by. These unions boast long class traditions. Even in the most difficult circumstances they were able to combine the protection of employees' rights with a sense of responsibility. The autonomous trade unions had their achievements, too. The honorary Polish Teachers' Union and other unconfederated union organizations survived those turbulent times with dignity.

The law provides equal opportunities for everyone. There will be no second-rate citizens. It does not matter where a man comes from, but whether he declares himself for the socialist, worker character of the union, and whether he confirms this in practice. The new trade unions will begin their activity at the lowest, basic level—in the workplace, where everyone can know everyone. This is the safest guarantee against manipulation and moves behind the scenes.

We trust in the wisdom of the working class, its patriotism and its good political sense. We trust that the working people will reject the advice of false friends, that they will create unions to match their genuine needs, to match the needs of People's Poland.

A strong state authority, an effectively functioning government, an efficient and honest administration—such are the indispensable prerequisites for the Polish State to be law-abiding, democratic and just.

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The authorities must work to earn public confidence. We have abandoned the convenient principle that only adversaries or predecessors commit mistakes, while the authorities in power are always right. We also make mistakes. Only those who do nothing or shun responsibility and work solely by routine commit no errors.

The Government may certainly be blamed for many things, but not for hiding the truth from public knowledge. On the contrary, it works with the curtain raised, as it were. It has become its habit to present society with regular reports on the Government's intentions and decisions, and on their subsequent implementation. This also concerns the *województwo* offices and *województwo* defence committees.

The openness of public life has even embraced, to an acceptable degree, the issues facing the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Previously, it was not customary for the Minister to present Parliament with accurate reports on important current affairs concerning the state of security and public order in the country.

I am sure that other investigative and juridical bodies will report more widely to the *Sejm* and the public on their activity.

The law must constantly be improved; moreover, one must learn to understand it, adhere to it and respect it. When deeds are judged and sentences are passed, some say they are too severe and others say they are too lenient. What is important is that they be compatible with the law, impartial to all.

Following two years of constant decline in industrial production, growth is now being observed for the second successive month—in September, by even a tangible 4 per cent.

Labour productivity, as well as exports, are gradually rising. This year, for the first time in several years, we are beginning to record a trade surplus with the capitalist countries. The mining and power industries continue to work well. Thanks to this we may expect Polish towns and villages to be sufficiently heated this winter. After all, it was only a year ago that we were apprehensively counting the days to the onset of winter. All this confirms our common hope that we are travelling along the proper road, that the regression of the economy has been curbed.

It has not collapsed nor disintegrated, as some had forecast. Despite the restrictions, despite a substantial drop in imports from the West, we have not been forced to our knees. This proves that by our own efforts, by developing co-operation with the socialist countries, and by taking advantage of the aid offered by the Soviet Union, we can overcome our immense difficulties and defend the national economy. The primary decisive factor is the patriotic attitude of this nation, the efforts of the working people. It is all the more worthy of recognition that all this is taking place in the context of a serious fall in living standards and numerous hardships in everyday life.

The life of the Polish people has been deeply shaken by conflicts, mistrust and intolerance. A society like ours, aching from the blows dealt on so many occasions, lured by promises, tired of anarchy, sickened by idle phraseology, sometimes wonders whether things in Poland can ever be better or different. It is difficult to think in terms of the future, of grand Polish issues, when many families have difficulty in making ends meet, when buying a pair of shoes is a problem. And yet, this has to be done. This nation has survived even more painful ordeals. It has managed to conquer adversity. That is what it must do again today. That is why we are seeking conciliation.

The opportunity exists. A great idea is being born in Poland—the Patriotic Movement for National Revival. It is spontaneously emerging from the collective wisdom of the nation, from the inner need of people who think in terms of society in general. It was on their initiative that Civic Committees for National Salvation were established as early as last December.

The Movement for National Revival is not being organized under orders. It is being formed by a spontaneous process. It is an extremely valuable phenomenon in our social life. The movement emanates not from the superstructure but from the very foundations. It marks the beginning of a coalition of forces of goodwill, based on the fundamental premises of the socialist character of the State, constitutional order, and the durability of Poland's alliances. Whoever recognizes this foundation will find a place for himself in it. Whoever does not want to recognize it will be building sand castles for himself.

To pursue a mirage of artificial unity would be naïve. We are not speaking of some kind of a "let us all love one another" slogan. We are saying: let us try, for the good of the nation, to come to terms in spite of everything. To come to an agreement means first of all a desire to understand others. To do away with facile judgements and prejudice, arbitrary assessments and solutions. To think in a Polish way about socialist Poland. For there is no other Poland, nor will there be one.

In a socialist State any accord must be of a socialist essence, determined by recognition of the paramountcy of the interests of the working people, above all the working class. The more deviations from that principle, the farther we are from Socialism and the closer to another conflict.

The Patriotic Movement for National Revival could become a valuable lever of socialist democracy. It could unite various opinions, strivings and aspirations; the different points of view of small and large social organizations, the youth movement, professional milieux, regional groups, denominational unions and the various kinds of communities and associations. It should become a plane of co-operation of party members with non-party people, believers with non-believers, society with the authorities. Let it, in particular, become a plane of efficient activity for the non-party majority of society. Let it be a form of self-organization of patriotic-progressive forces which support the

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authorities but also subject them to the requisite control of the way they exercise their powers. The state administration will be instructed to meet the initiatives of local committees of Revival and National Salvation halfway and to award their proposals favourable attention. The goodwill of the administration cannot, however, turn into a formalistic approach which would destroy the movement's independence. The movement should indeed rally around itself the best social activists—even those who are difficult to handle and far from docile, but who enjoy real authority in their community.

Our desire is that the Patriotic Movement for National Revival should gain the broadest possible scope. That it should embrace all that is patriotic, genuine and creative in Poland and compatible with the rationale of the socialist State. This opportunity can be either used or lost. Whoever stands aloof from it may soon become a stranger in his own land. This I say in all frankness. We can understand the perplexities and doubts which still exist. But may there not be talk, as there was last year, of "squandered chances".

An important role in building national agreement can be played by the religious unions and above all by the Roman Catholic Church.

Church-State relations still arouse much conjecture and speculation, particularly abroad. The purpose here is clear: to discredit the socialist State and exaggerate contradictions, with non-Polish, cold war aims in view.

During the past ten centuries of Polish statehood the relations between State and Church have not always been idyllic. Conflicts have occurred, at times even more severe than in the post-1945 period.

In People's Poland, too, relations between State and Church have not always been of the smoothest. At present, they are not bad. They could be better, but they could also be worse. There are differences of opinion, but that should not lead to conflict. Both sides, and Polish society above all, would lose as a result.

Today we wish to take from the past and the present day all that unites us, not what could divide. We appreciate the contribution of Christianity to our national identity and culture, to our ethical values. We respect the patriotic attitude of the Polish clergy during the war years. This is witnessed by the participation of the Polish state delegation in the ceremony of the canonization of Maksymilian Kolbe.²

One of the great achievements of People's Poland is the depolitization of religious belief, granting freedom of conscience and eliminating the once acute, anti-humanistic division into believers and non-believers. The constitutionally guaranteed equality of citizens, irrespective of religious beliefs, really is observed. We attach great importance to the participation of lay Catholics in civic and social life. They enjoy an ever larger presence in organs of state authority. They are playing an active part in the Initiating Commission of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival and making a valuable and constructive contribution to its development.

There is a prominent place for the Church in the social life of socialist Poland. The Church's requests and postulates, related to the fulfillment of its religious mission, are being treated sympathetically.

Apparently, there is no other country in Europe where so many churches are presently under construction, where the Roman Catholic Church enjoys such favourable conditions for its activity. This is surely worthy of appreciation.

But it is regrettable that not everybody is happy with the prospect of a peaceful relationship between believers and non-believers. Voices can be heard which remind us of the darkest chapters of the counter-reformation. Activities violating the law also occur. The advocates of politicizing the Church speak in terms of trends which history rejected long ago; they refer not to the conciliatory spirit of the Second Vatican Council but to the reprehensible traditions of political clericalism. There is no future for fanaticism in Poland.

The overwhelming majority of the Catholic clergy and clergy of other denominations is interested in a lasting and constructive settlement of relations with the State. They understand the basic requirements of national existence. This attitude meets and will continue to meet with our full understanding. There is a possibility of expanding the dialogue and of constructive co-operation. With this in mind, the Consultative Economic Council of the Council of Ministers has recently opened a discussion with members of the Polish Primate's Social Council.

It is not in the interest of our society to gloss over real political differences. Neither it is in its interest to deliver rash and premature judgements. We do not consider as oppositionists those who have gone astray, become disoriented or have simply been deluded. There are still many of them.

The name of "oppositionists" is, in turn, readily assumed by those, who can only voice complaints and instruct others. To be in a sulk towards the authorities is currently in vogue in certain circles. In general, this is more often comic than dangerous. For several years after the war, "a rider on a white horse"³ was awaited in vain. He did not arrive. This time it will be no different.

However, there is also a different kind of opposition—the one without the inverted commas, inspired by subversive foreign radio stations and ready to provoke bloodshed, even. The activity of such counter-revolutionary groups is extending the application of the extraordinary measures longer than intended.

We are not entrenched in martial law. Our intention remains to suspend or even lift it, should the conditions I formulated from this rostrum on 21 July be met. Subsequent events have impaired the feasibility of this plan, but I feel sure that it will not be made impossible.

Individual martial law restrictions are being lifted as fast as possible. Voices are frequently heard that this is being done too soon, here are different

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opinions on this subject within society, as represented in numerous letters. However, we desire consistently to follow the road announced on 13 December.

Acting on the motion of the Initiating Commission of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival we shall, as the state of security and order in the country improves, limit the use of internment. Further, considerable releases of internees are planned soon. Members of illegal groups who have so far remained in hiding are released after they give themselves up voluntarily and are offered the opportunity to return to normal life. We wish to continue this.

Our poet prayed for a "great war of the peoples".⁴ Today one should rather pray to keep the Homeland free, to save it from nuclear disaster.

There is no need to frighten the Poles. They are not a people who scare easily. But even so, it is essential that they fully comprehend the unfavourable changes which have occurred in the international situation, and that this become an inseparable component of civic, patriotic awareness. The confrontational course of imperialism poses a threat of war more imminent than at any time since the Second World War.

World peace is jeopardized principally by NATO armament programmes. The negative stance of the American administration, disregard for the opinion of other nations is leading to a deadlock in all the most important international negotiations. The Soviet Union has declared that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. The United States has refused to give a similar pledge. Washington has even rejected the idea of freezing the nuclear potential of the United States and the Soviet Union put forward by a group of eminent American politicians. The significance of these facts is unambiguous.

We do not live in a vacuum. In the present situation our internal problems have become an element of the global rivalry between capitalism and Socialism. Whoever does not want to understand this has no moral right to speak about the future of the State and the nation. Poland is not a toy to play with. We live in a world of harsh realities which leave no room for childish illusions.

The present critical period in international relations requires a special sense of realism. It requires reasoning which outstrips events. The military and political targets of the North Atlantic Treaty have nothing in common with Polish interests. We reserve the sovereign, inalienable right to decide about Polish affairs. Poland will not be a passive tool in the play for the Siberian pipeline. She will not be pushed around to make alien targets more feasible.

We have followed with great attention the recent transformations taking place in the Federal Republic of Germany. Progress, so far, in bilateral relations, both political and economic, contains many positive elements. We do not want them to be affected by the change of the Government in Bonn.

We consistently declare our readiness for mutually advantageous co-operation. This must recognize the existing pattern of forces in Europe as well as the inviolability of European frontiers. The agreements concluded between our countries are irrevocable in the light of international law. This constitutes a good starting point for the continuation and deepening of bilateral relations. It creates an opportunity for the Federal Republic to expand its contribution to the cause of *détente*.

Everything that happens on German soil arouses our understandably watchful interest. The interests of the nation today and in the future will invariably be the basis on which our judgements are made. The attitude of the Christian-Democratic Party to Poland so far, the militant statements of some politicians, their identification with the revanchism of the so-called resettlers,⁵ require redoubled circumspection. Many Poles inhabiting the Western territories, often born there in the second generation, are again receiving letters from beyond the Elbe River "warning" against buying property, including arable land.

The emerging confidence can be easily undermined but is restored only with much greater difficulty. The tendons of normalization are still fragile; the wounds of the past have not yet healed. The nationalistic right wing forces beyond the Elbe, resurrecting the aspirations of a Greater Germany, are heading once more into a blind alley.

In that context, above all, the significance of the alliance and friendship linking us with the first socialist German State—the German Democratic Republic—becomes obvious to each and every Pole.

In these danger-fraught times the sense of community with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the membership in the great defensive coalition, the Warsaw Treaty, becomes of very special importance to the Poles.

Poland is interested in the prosperity, might and security of the Soviet Union. Our Soviet ally is interested in a strong, stable and secure Poland. We respect and trust each other. By resolving her own internal problems in a sovereign manner, Poland is increasing her credibility as a partner and as an ally.

I am happy to inform the House that during the meeting I had last August in the Crimea with Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CPSU, the convergence of the interests of Poland and the Soviet Union was expressed in one voice. The concern for the prevention of the threat of war was also a common issue.

Poland's true security and the integrity of her national territory find their sole guarantee in the political system which was shaped in the wake of the Second World War. The structure of peace in Europe erected on the mutually inseparable agreements of Yalta and Potsdam, rests today, as it has rested throughout the postwar years, on the close identity of interests of all the

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socialist countries. Any attempt to impair that system, to manipulate its elements, must lead to highly dangerous consequences. We, in Poland, are aware of that.

May I be permitted to revert to the leading theme of my statement. It is today that we are laying the cornerstones for the solutions which will be developed in our country when full normalization ensues. It is our desire that a strong and efficient State, the crowning achievement of collective life, command unyielding support in a democratically organized society.

That society will be guaranteed an influence on the activity of the State. This is a complex and time-consuming process. Yet the reforms are a task for those who are persistent and patient. The assessment of the results of the reforms requires patience as well.

The history of our nation is composed of great and valuable achievements but also of too many discarded undertakings, uncompleted tasks. A century ago, one of the greatest Polish historians, Michal Bobrzynski, wrote: "We must unmask all the horrors which recklessness brings in its wake, which outbursts generated by momentary emotion can lead to, in order to arouse a political sense, the ability to make full use of all existing conditions, and virile energy to endure and labour, while preserving zeal and enthusiasm". Little need be added to those words today. We shall not accomplish much by standing on one foot in the Saxony epoch⁶ and on the other in the late twentieth century. We shall not be able to meet the challenge of the future while vacillating between elation and despair.

The fate of our Homeland depends on all of us. Today's concerns, wrongs and disputes will, as time passes, become but a fading memory. It is for the Poles to decide how quickly that will come about.

Notes

1. ... **entombed Poland as an independent state for a century and a half.** In the face of Poland's internal weakness and disintegration, the predatory neighbouring states of Austria, Prussia and Russia partitioned the country among themselves in three stages: in 1772, 1793 and 1795, after which the Polish State ceased to exist. Poland regained independence in 1918.
2. **Rajmund (Father Maksymilian) Kolbe (1894-1941).** A Franciscan who founded several Catholic periodicals, a representative of extreme Catholic orthodoxy, and the organizer of a mission in Nagasaki, Japan. He was killed by the Nazis in the Auschwitz death camp, where he volunteered to go to his death in the place of another prisoner, who is still alive today. He was canonized by the Vatican in 1982.
3. ... **a rider on a white horse.** In 1946 General Władysław Anders, commander of the Polish forces in the Middle East and Western Europe in the closing years of the Second World War, boasted that he would return to Poland riding on a white horse. This signified a return to the prewar type of government based on the *bourgeoisie* and landed gentry. General Anders died in 1972 in London.
4. **A great war of the peoples.** It was Poland's greatest poet, Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), who first pronounced the romantic idea that Poland's greatest chance to regain independence was in a general uprising of the peoples of Europe against the system of absolute monarchies which existed throughout the continent.

5. **Resettlers.** The German population, who in mid-1945 inhabited the territories granted to Poland under the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, were transferred to lands to the west of the Oder River under the tenets of these agreements.
6. **The Saxony epoch.** This was the period, between 1696 and 1763, of the rule in Poland of Frederic Augustus the Elector of Saxony, also known as Augustus II the Strong, and his son Augustus III. It was then that Poland experienced her most severe political and economic weakness, which led directly to her partitioning.

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Address to
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Address to the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival 7 May 1983

Excerpts

An important chapter is being opened in the socio-political history of Poland.

The need for national conciliation is not only a need of today. It could have assumed a real form, to the benefit of the nation and the State, a long time ago. We spoke about it when the country was laid low by fever in 1980 and in 1981. We are confirming it today. The Party and the people's authority have not departed from the concept of national conciliation even for a moment. Even in the most difficult of moments.

The time has come today to crown this idea with a concrete programme and organizational form.

As Chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, I would like to emphasize with particular appreciation the great role played by the Civic Committees for National Salvation, which emerged spontaneously all over the country in the memorable winter days at the turn of 1981. They were a valuable and sincere support for the soldiers who were charged with such a great duty to Poland by the constitutional authority. They confirmed to the nation and the world that the only Polish way to renewal and rebirth leads through Salvation.

History will evaluate our search, struggles and efforts. But we are sure of one thing: in our responsibility for the continuity of the Polish State in its only possible socialist form, we have done everything to make the Poles themselves take even the most difficult decisions in the name of Polish and, at the same time, broadly conceived European interests.

Crises, adversities and collapses have come about in various historical periods and in various countries. As a rule, anti-democratic ways were chosen to overcome them. Our self-imposed purpose is to overcome our accumulated adversities by way of broad democratic reforms, appealing to the patriotic responsibility of the society, and through the temporary use of extraordinary measures, limited to the greatest possible extent. This is a tremendous test for the entire nation. It is up to us, the authorities and society, how fast and how successfully we pass the test. To a considerable degree it depends also on whether the Patriotic Movement for National Revival will live up to expectations and become a bridge between the years of conflict, grievance and tension and a better, calmer future.

We must seek all available roads, ways and means to construct a sufficiently strong and firm barrier against recurring crises, so that never again may the links between the authorities and the working people be ruptured. The system of socialist, popular rule should be its basic guarantee. Our movement can play a special role here.

Many a time in our history, Polish left-wing forces have begged that for supreme, national reasons blind group and class egoism be put aside. It was in the reconciliation of patriotic forces that they saw the possibility of opposing the threats to the nation. Such was their stance in the face of expanding Nazi fascism. This line was adopted by the Polish Workers' Party in the years of Nazi occupation. The idea of national agreement was one of the major elements in the programme of the Ninth Party Congress. It remains so today.

The notion of "agreement" or "conciliation" calls for more detailed elaboration. It is frequently understood in an oversimplified way as conciliation between X and Y, between one group and another, between the authorities and society. We have to say, however, that it is not important who is to reach agreement with whom, but on what matter and for what purpose.

It is essential to formulate this purpose clearly and unambiguously. Fundamental for national conciliation must be and will always remain:

First: the ensurance of Poland's external security, the integrity of her frontiers and of her territory.

Second: the ensurance of calm, internal harmony and the settlement of social controversies without conflict.

Third: the ensurance of real conditions for the improvement of the material and cultural life of the nation, for the advancement of Polish civilization.

These matters are inseparable. They are unattainable in a state of internal division, without international guarantees ensured by the alliance with the Soviet Union and membership of the defensive coalition of Warsaw Treaty States, without the leading role of the Party and a strong, democratic, socialist State.

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Men of action have joined the Patriotic Movement for National Revival. The movement has been joined by those who refuse to remain idle when the Motherland is facing difficulties.

This is an open movement. It can be called confederative, accessible to everyone who, while preserving his ideological identity and difference of views, accepts its aims and actively supports its patriotic, constitutional programme. There is room in it for all honest people, irrespective of the kind of work they perform—for workers and peasants, for intellectuals, craftsmen and small-scale producers. There is room in it for the activity of every social group, every individual who associates his path of life with the common interest and who can find a proper role for himself in the process of socialist construction.

There are people in the movement who are just as diverse as that Polish reality whose mosaic structure has developed down the long years of our complicated history. We ask for no biographies. We do not hastily brand those who stray and err. We shall accept every declaration of membership stemming from pure, patriotic reasons, including membership of those who in the past have found themselves on the other side of the fence. We have no desire to multiply the number of enemies, especially when every pair of Polish hands is needed.

It is imperative that every social group, even the smallest, find in Socialism an opportunity for positive action—for the development of creative passions, and for active participation in public life.

In building agreement, we are not afraid of controversies, clashes of interests, arguments and differences of opinion. In what we have to say to one another there should be no blank spaces, no slurring over real problems in expedient silence. The movement, however, cannot accommodate political neuroses. It should be a platform for a responsible discussion of the real issues of the today and tomorrow of socialist Poland. The point is not to cheer the activities of the authorities. What the authorities need is honest criticism when they err, and concrete support when they act correctly.

Our country has many people of diligence and good will, representing the so-called "silent majority". We are addressing our message first of all to them. It is not true that they are silent. In spite of difficult living conditions and the multitude of problems they face, they are speaking out in favour of conciliation and calm, a better future for the Motherland, through their daily work and dignified attitude. How emphatic a proof of this they gave during the recent May Day parades, where the voices of millions of those who were branded as apathetic or discouraged reverberated so strongly.

At first, attempts were made to refuse to acknowledge or take note of our movement. Then there was an attempt to diminish its importance and ignore it. Currently, it is being defamed and attacked. This is the best proof that it has become a real force, even before its final constitution. And it is not a

temporary, emergency solution. We want it to become a lasting element in our political life. The signatories of the July Declaration—the Polish United Workers' Party, the allied parties, associations of Christians and lay Catholics—desire that its autonomy in terms of organization and subject-matter be strictly observed. The development of the movement can be threatened, on the one hand, by paternalism; by treating it as some kind of extension of the authorities, a “representative of society” at their beck and call. On the other hand, temptations could appear to transform it into a base for concepts and undertakings long ago disqualified by history. We believe that the Patriotic Movement for National Revival will avoid both these extremes.

I would like to say a few words on the role of the Party within the movement. Its position in the State is determined by the Constitution. But the most important thing is that the Party is the advocate of the interests of the major social force, the working class; that it best expresses and implements the ideological rationale of the socialist system. This determines the particular political and moral responsibility of the Party for the propitious development of the movement, that it win a meaningful place in public life.

Respect for the principles of the Declaration will lead Party members to reach for substantive and rational arguments in discussion. They should set a personal example with ideological and political attitudes which will win social approval. For the Party, it will be a valuable experience, enriching the practice of its ties with non-party people. This will also continue to be a platform on which further consolidation of co-operation with the allied parties and with associations of lay Catholics will be pursued. Its durability has been proved at the most difficult time and constitutes a valuable contribution to the progress of national conciliation.

Socialism is the path along which humanity has made historic progress. Not everybody is a Marxist, and that is why not everybody is ready to accept this view unopposed. Let it also be borne in mind that less than a hundred years have passed since the times when the cotton mills in Łódź and Żyrardów were still employing children, a fact considered those days by various moralists as quite a natural thing.

Today hardly anyone in Poland openly questions the social and moral principles which the workers' movement, Socialism in fact, has imposed through its persistent struggle. At this moment, even those of obstinately reactionary views conceal their true aims under the guise of protecting the workers' interests. This offers an instructive testimony to the historic transformation, a measure of the strength of Socialism.

When determining the purposes and platforms of conciliation, we must equally clearly define: Who is our enemy? With whom can there be no agreement?

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"Enemy", "opponent", "anti-socialist forces" are for many people abstract, vague and ambiguous notions. That is why they must be explained.

Poland's enemies are not countries of different social systems which conduct a peaceful policy, but the aggressive forces of world imperialism and their agencies active here, in Poland.

Poland's enemies are not those who have different outlooks, but those who act against the interests of their own nation and State.

Poland's enemies are not those who doubt the correctness of the road we have chosen, but those who deliberately raise barriers on it and delay the overcoming of the crisis. It is not important whether they speak English, German, or Polish. Only one thing is important: that they want to weaken and defame Poland.

There is no reason to over-estimate the practical impact of the opponents of Socialism. It is not within their power to reverse the course of history. They can only hinder and delay the process of normalization, that is, delay the prospect of lifting martial law and the decisions and acts it entails.

The activity of our opponents should not be considered separately from the global, strategic plans of imperialism. It is just a facet of the same policy. A button is pressed in Washington and stones are thrown on Polish streets. Whoever laughs this off as an over-simplification—let him prove he condemns the anti-communist crusade, the calculations of revanchists, the anti-Polish sanctions. Let him oppose the use of Polish problems as pawns in a foreign game. Pseudo-patriotic clothing is good only for the blind, the naive and the intellectually deficient.

For over one and a half years now our country has been one of the most important, if not the most important cold-war testing ground for the present American administration. The internationalization of the so-called "Polish question" is taking place at the expense of Poland. This is not a matter of human rights, because in reality those are of no interest to anyone across the ocean, as evidenced by the brutality of pro-American dictatorships financed, armed and protected by the self-styled "apostles of democracy". Nor is it a matter of freedom, for you have the USA persistently refusing freedom to the people of Palestine, the peoples of Central America, or the black majority in South Africa.

It is a matter of serving just one objective: imperialist domination over the world and the untrammelled export of counter-revolution. Illegal interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and peoples. From Lebanon to Nicaragua, from Kampuchea to El Salvador—everywhere the hand of the American world-policeman is strangling every impulse toward genuine freedom, every authentic drive toward liberation. Even fascists, Somozas, Stroessners and Pinochets, the executioner of Guatemala Indians and murderers like Pol Pot come in handy when serving this purpose. This truth is

somehow not to be heard in declarations from Washington or broadcasts by subversive radio stations.

It is very hard to believe that a few short years ago there was talk about the irreversibility of *détente*. The NATO-enforced policy of confrontation and destabilization, and the persistent sidestepping of Soviet peace initiatives, have brought about an extremely dangerous deterioration of the world situation. This also poses a threat to Poland's national existence. The arms build-up, particularly the intention to deploy new missiles, is reviving calculations for changing the territorial order in Europe.

Revanchist forces in the Federal Republic of Germany have always nourished themselves on our weaknesses and fed on tensions in the world. The greater were the threats to peace, the easier it was for the revanchists to find an audience. Such is the situation today. It would be interesting to hear what the organizers of street riots in Polish Wrocław, Szczecin and Gdańsk have to say today, when beyond the Elbe people are again contemptuously saying that "The Poles do not know how to manage their affairs". Whom do these people side with? What do they want to prove? Whom do they want to serve?

It must be firmly and openly said that the sowers of unrest, whether they are aware of it or not, are in fact performing the role of a "fifth column" acting against Poland's paramount interests.

It is not we who have proclaimed the "Polish-American cold war". We do not need it. Imposing conditions on Poland will lead nowhere. It is useless to count on our capitulation. The USA had to withdraw from Vietnam with ignominy. Sooner or later they will have to back out of the infamous anti-Polish campaign.

A great, historic achievement of the present generation of Poles, related to the post-war international position of our country and to our alliances, is the sense of security, a well-founded certainty of the sovereign existence of the State and the inviolability of its frontiers. The Poles have simply got rid of the feeling of sitting on a volcano. But it has to be stated that this certainty is sometimes excessive. It is even tainted with irresponsibility. The dangers which have recently arisen, to peace and therefore to Poland, are not taken seriously enough.

The day after tomorrow will mark the 38th anniversary of the victory over Nazism. Our great ally in battle, the Soviet Union, played a crucial role in this victory. The Polish contribution to victory was also commendable. We recall with respect the veterans of the war of liberation under all battle banners. Soldiers of regular and partisan units, participants in the resistance movement and clandestine propaganda, defenders and insurgents of Warsaw, heroes of the Byelorussian fields and Libyan deserts, the Pomeranian Rampart and the Atlantic, conquerors of Berlin and Monte Cassino, sappers and airmen, courageous female fusiliers and nurses. The Polish list is a long one. The pages of heroism are countless. It is due to them that we were numbered amongst the



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PLATE 28. October 1972. With Marshal Josip Broz Tito on board the presidential yacht during an official visit to Yugoslavia.



PLATE 29. Marshal Andrei Grechko presents Wojciech Jaruzelski with a commemorative banner. To the left—Marshal Ivan Yakubovsky.



PLATE 30. Accompanied by Gustav Husak and Ludvik Svoboda during a visit to Czechoslovakia.

PLATES 31 - 32 - 33.
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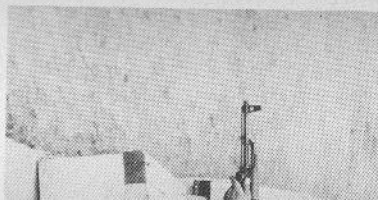


PLATE 31



PLATE 32



PLATES 31-32-33. As Minister for National Defence, Wojciech Jaruzelski attached great importance to troop combat training, personally taking part in even the most difficult exercises. He was often present on military training ranges and exercise grounds.

PLATE 33





PLATE 34. The Minister for National Defence takes the salute at the march-past of military units in Warsaw on the 30th anniversary of People's Poland in 1974.



PLATE 35. Meeting with Indira Gandhi at the opening of an official visit to India in 1975.



PLATE 37. S



PLATE 36. At a Warsaw Treaty joint exercise in Poland, together with General Florian Siwicki.



PLATE 37. September 1977. At a briefing of air personnel taking part in reconnaissance exercises.



PLATE 38. With General Vo Nguyen Giap, the legendary Vietnamese commander and theoretician on guerilla warfare, during his visit to Warsaw. On the left, Wojciech Jaruzelski's wife and daughter.



PLATE 39. On holiday with his family in Crimea. On the left, Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, with his grandchildren. On the right, Wojciech Jaruzelski's wife and daughter.



PLATE 40. Talking to Marshal Viktor Kulikov, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty Combined Armed Forces.

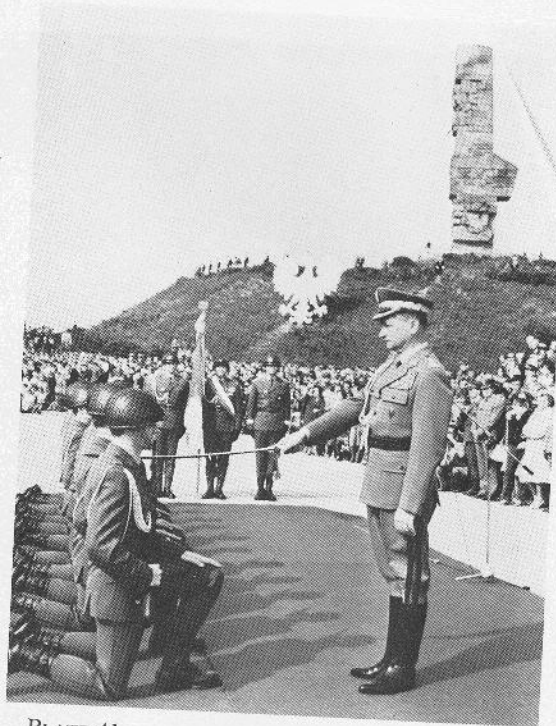


PLATE 41

PLATES 41-42. As Minister of National Defence, promoting young graduate officers. The Polish military tradition requires that the promoted officer kneels and is touched on the shoulder with bared sabre. (PLATE 41) On Victory Square at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. This was the only fragment which remained in 1944 from the classical palace which housed the General Staff prior to September 1939. (PLATE 42 below) On the background of the monument to the heroic defenders, in 1939, of the Polish military base at Westerplatte, near Gdańsk.





PLATE 43. During an inspection tour of an anti-aircraft defence unit. Next to W. Jaruzelski stands Marshal Michal Rola-Zymierski, organizer of Polish left-wing guerilla units during the Nazi occupation, later Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces.



PLATE 44. Wojciech Jaruzelski has had a very soft spot for horses from his earliest years of military service. He still does a bit of horse riding when time permits.



PLATE 45. July 1978. Poland's first cosmonaut, Miroslaw Hermaszewski, being congratulated on his promotion to Lieutenant Colonel in connection with his membership of a joint Polish-Soviet crew manning the Soyuz-30 outer-space flight. First on the right, Colonel Z. Jankowski, the Polish understudy cosmonaut.



PLATE 46. During a visit to Poland by Finnish Defence Minister, L. Sutela.



PLATE 47. September 1978. An official visit to Libya.

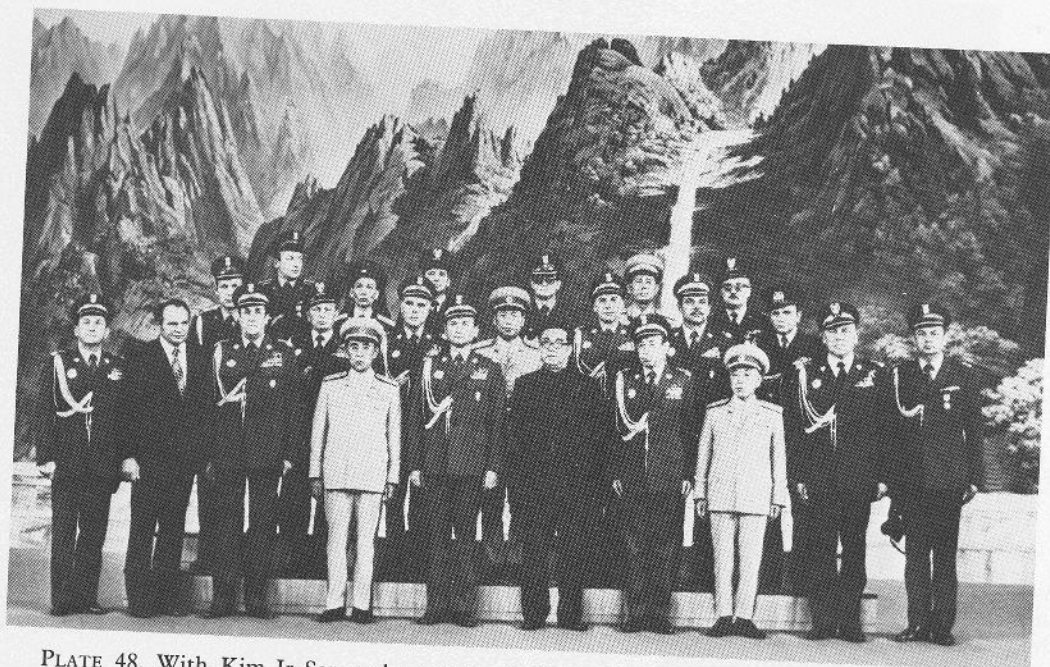


PLATE 48. With Kim Ir Sen and a group of officers on a visit to Pyongyang, the Korean People's Democratic Republic.



PLATE 49. May 1979. Celebrations of the 34th anniversary of the victory over fascism. On the left Marshal Michał Rola-Żymierski. On the right, General Zygmunt Berling, former commander of the First Polish Army, Wojciech Jaruzelski's superior officer during the last war.

SEJM POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ

Obywatel
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Uprzejmie informuję,
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na podstawie artykułu 37 ust. 1
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przy jednoczesnym zachowaniu stanowiska
MINISTRA OBRONY NARODOWEJ

MARSZAŁEK SEJMU

Warszawa, dnia 12 lutego 1981 roku

PLATE 50. The act of nomination signed by the Speaker of Parliament and dated the 12 February 1981, calling "Citizen Wojciech Jaruzelski" to the post of Prime Minister.



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PLATE 51. From his very first moments as head of Government Wojciech Jaruzelski made a point of holding regular meetings with workers in their factories.



PLATE 52. March 1981. National Defence Ministers watch Warsaw Treaty troops exercise during the "Sojuz 81" manoeuvres in Poland.



PLATE 53. A



PLATE 54



PLATE 53. March 1981. Talking to Hans Dietrich Genscher during his official visit to Warsaw.



PLATE 54. July 1981. A meeting with the Roman Catholic Church primate, Józef Cardinal Glemp.



PLATE 55. 19 July 1981. Wojciech Jaruzelski speaks to the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. On the left is Stanisław Kania, then Party Central Committee First Secretary.



PLATE 56. It is Wojciech Jaruzelski's custom to visit farmers at harvest time.

PLATE 55



PLATE 57. 13 December 1981. Wojciech Jaruzelski announces over Polish TV that martial law has been introduced.

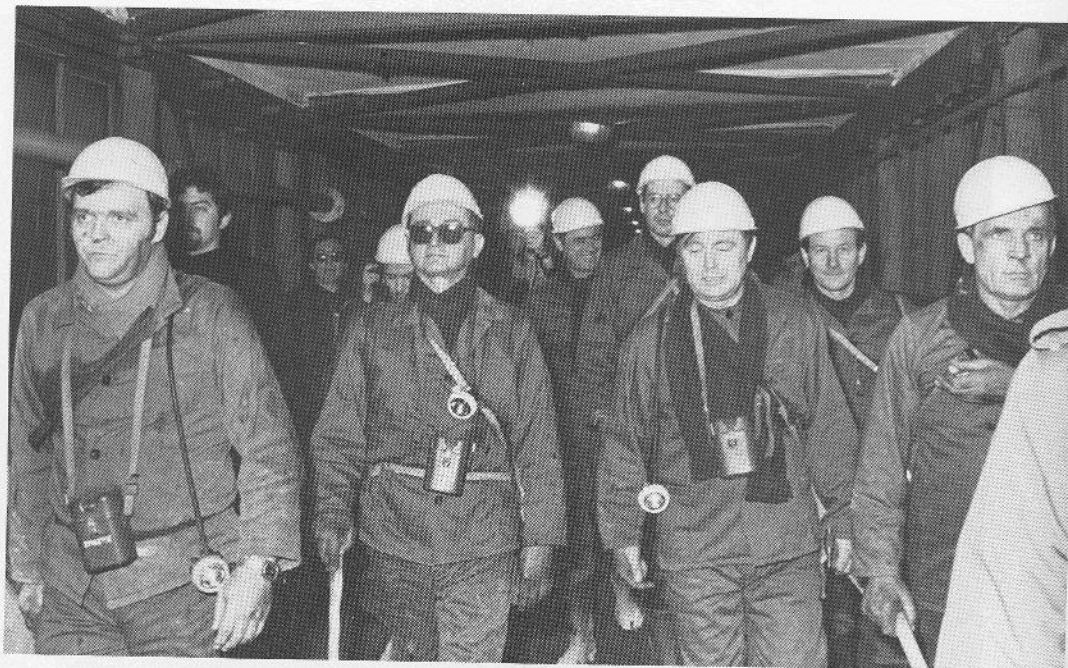


PLATE 58. 960 metres below ground in the Dymitrov mine in Silesia.



PLATE 59. March 1982. Being welcomed on arrival on an official visit to Berlin.

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victors. To those who fell, who sacrificed their youth and health in the struggle for a free Poland, we today owe tribute and eternal memory, as well as a moment of deeper reflection.

May I be permitted a personal recollection. Exactly 38 years ago, between 4 and 7 May 1945, as an officer of the fifth infantry regiment of the Polish Army, I found myself on the Elbe, after a long front-line march leading from the Oka River. It was a great thing to be able to stand in Polish uniform at a river which was once located deep inside the German Reich. It seemed at that time that this was the last of the Polish wars, that nothing could threaten the gains of victory. Regrettably, many contemporary facts again give rise to the question whether the jams of that day in May are sufficiently durable.

In our past history, great military victories and political successes were often frittered away. When far-sightedness was necessary, self-indulgence, egoistic blindness and squabbling appeared. When foresight was required in matters of State, looking forward several decades, there was a lack of persistence and a misuse of success which often did more harm than a lost battle.

We cannot afford a repetition of this error. May 1945 brought Poland just and secure frontiers and a reliable system of alliances based on ideological unity, and created the foundation for a new defence capability for our country.

The historic advancement of Poland in the latter half of the 20th century is an evident fact. But neither the size of our population, nor the extent of our territory, nor time, nor great post-war accomplishments are in themselves necessarily decisive when it comes to the essentials. The consolidation of our place in Europe and the world must be struggled for every day.

A Poland submerged in internal dissension and smothered by impotence, once again an "ungovernable country", could not have coped with this.

As has been pointed out in the report of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival, various contradictions and divisions exist within our society. But the majority are not antagonistic. However, there is also a distinct and genuinely antagonistic line of division. It runs between those who are moving the country forward and those who are hampering that task. Between those who wish to consolidate the socialist State and those who dream of an anarcho-syndicalist hotch-potch, never and nowhere seen before. We have never heard of a "self-governing" Great Britain or France, or of an America run like a huge co-operative.

I wish to repeat, with emphasis: the Party—the people's authority—abides by the position which we have already stated many times. The workers' protest of 1980 was justified. We are constantly reaffirming our comprehension of its class intentions expressed in the slogan "Yes—to Socialism, No—to its distortions". We seize on and cherish everything which has proved useful and creative in every period of our history. We understand the intentions of the millions of working people, including many Party members, who joined the ranks of the former Solidarity and whose confidence was deceitfully

abused. That is why siren songs will lead no-one astray today. We well remember the breaches of faith and attempts to outwit us. May those who almost led us to a national catastrophe stop dressing in peacock feathers and reaching for the "golden horn".¹

We reject revenge and discrimination. If any departure from this principle has anywhere occurred, it was contrary to the authorities' intentions. We equally firmly oppose exerting pressure on and stigmatizing those who stand courageously on the side of Socialism, in the front line of social activity. The basic criterion when evaluating a citizen is his present attitude, his participation in the national effort.

Socialism has opened up great prospects of development for Poland and for other nations in our part of Europe. These prospects have been exploited to a historic degree. However, we wonder today why the feelings and moods of our society differ in a negative sense from the social climate in other socialist countries. The same answer again comes to mind: it was not that Socialism failed in Poland, but that there were inadequacies in putting socialist principles into practice.

A continuing crisis of confidence and impairment of collective consciousness can be observed in Poland. There are people who are disillusioned with everything and believe in nothing and nobody.

In the spirit of our movement's motto we say: it is imperative to revive a belief in the wisdom of activity and the elementary virtues, which for various reasons have not managed to find satisfactory expression.

Unfortunately, the opinion can also be heard that society does not need to be revived, that it has reached the peak of excellence, and that it is only the authorities which have fallen ill. These are voices taken straight from regional noblemen's councils²; they are contagious and calculated to win applause. The line which divides demagoguery from civic reflection is narrow but morally crucial.

The authorities do not intend to cover up their own shortcomings. They have given and are still giving testimony of this on many occasions. They have been flagellated and have flagellated themselves as no-one ever before. But in Poland, the authorities are not only the top echelons, the central and local administration. They are also hundreds of thousands of people entitled to make various decisions which have an impact on everyday life and on the way people feel. All of them form an inseparable part of society; they are its product and its reflection.

What I say may sound harsh, but the truth may not be trimmed. Polish shortcomings are not a product of Socialism. They have a combination of causes stemming from the complicated, centuries-long vicissitudes of our nation.

Have those who are ascribing all the evil in Poland to the socialist authorities never looked into the great pages of our political journalism? From

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Modrzewski and Skarga, Staszic and Lelewel to Prus and Pruszyński—almost every generation faces the bitter question: Why is our understanding of the interest of the State so weak, our ethics of public life so low, our attitude towards work so frequently improper? Why is there so much envy and pig-headedness? Why does slander spread so easily and gossip find so ready an audience?

The quality of human relations also has an impact on the shape of civic attitudes. Last year, I asked in Parliament how it could happen that in Poland democracy turns so easily into anarchy, while the authorities so easily succumb to deformation. This subject has yet to be accorded sufficiently thorough reflection, reaching back to its roots. I think our movement should take up this issue, discuss it and bring it home to all sections of society.

The Polish home, family and school have made immense contributions to social education and the cultivation of love for the Motherland. But they must also shape basic values more effectively, since these are the determinants of the functioning of all social units and groups, and hence of the nation as a whole. They must instil and teach plain integrity and reliability in human relations; attachment to one's native city, region and village, national songs and poetry; a genuine knowledge of and respect for other nations; the conviction that work is, above all, the source of moral order, and a sense of being truly useful to society.

Social maladies are often discussed. It is true that in comparison with many other European countries, Poland enjoys distinctly lower relative indices, such as, for instance, the crime rate. Nevertheless, the very concept of social pathology is painful and constitutes an object of justified concern for a socialist society. We have stepped up the struggle against demoralization. The laws on sobriety and combating alcoholism will take effect in a few days' time. The law on procedure in cases of juvenile offenders has already taken effect. Other laws have been introduced and various other actions have been taken.

Nevertheless, there can never be a law which in itself could eliminate social maladies. What is needed is the active co-operation of various forces, institutions, authorities, including PRON units, social organizations and opinion-forming groups. Here, also, there are broad planes on which the Church could be active.

I would like now to refer briefly to the prospects for future relations between the State and the Roman Catholic Church. We do not see co-operation with the Church as a temporary and tactical necessity. We want it to be useful for the State and the nation. That is quite feasible. We hope that the Church as an institution will be able to harmonize the nature of its religious mission with respect for the internal and international interests of our statehood.

The socialist Polish State is the major organizer of our national life. It represents all citizens, that is, believers and non-believers. Broad masses of lay

Catholics have played an active part in building People's Poland since its very inception. On such foundations, not only is simple coexistence feasible but also constructive co-operation in specific fields. The more profoundly the Church sees the incarnation of the supreme national interests in the socialist State, the greater will be the mutual benefits from such co-operation. Those among the clergy who, influenced by unrelenting anti-communism or superficial emotions, act to the disadvantage of domestic peace are also harming the long-term interests of the Church. Encounters with the Primate of Poland, Józef Cardinal Glemp, reconfirm my original hope that a long-term agreement is possible, though many difficult problems still lie ahead.

The visit of John Paul II is to take place next month. The head of the Vatican and the Catholic Church, our compatriot, will be welcomed cordially and with due respect on Polish soil. Despite the fact that the position of the State has been and remains unchanged on this matter, various deliberately incited speculations continue. Regrettably, this has been again fostered by recent incidents in the streets.

The Pope's visit is not to everyone's liking. There are various active forces and groupings whose aim is to maintain the international isolation of our country, to cordon Poland tightly off.

We expect this visit to contribute to the reconciliation and agreement which our nation so vitally needs. We also believe that the moral value of the visit will serve the genuine interests of Poland.

Questions are being asked: What lies ahead? What heritage shall we leave for future generations? There is only one answer. It will be the socialist Poland which we shall manage to build. The road to it has been mapped out by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. We are persistently following this road.

Martial law has not only not hampered but, on the contrary, has extended the range and accelerated the pace of reform. The process continues to improve the functioning of the State, deepening its socialist content. Undoubtedly, the activity of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival will be conducive to this process.

Complex legislative changes have covered almost all areas of life, setting up the legal framework for socialist renewal, binding more closely the processes of consolidation of State authority and developing socialist democracy in all its manifestations.

Due importance is given to the requirements of the rule of law and the principles of justice. With the progress of normalization, civic freedoms will be extended to all who adhere to and respect Poland's socialist statehood. But violation of the law by incorrigible opponents of Socialism will be curbed and the law enforced with equal determination.

The criterion of Party or organization membership continues to be of importance, because that is how the social commitment of the individual is

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usually manifested. But this may not be a decisive criterion. Real professional and social usefulness in performing a specific function or holding office should be the decisive factor. The cardinal requirement is, of course, identification with the socialist State. A person's attitude towards the ethical code should be equally unambiguous. Such a code is soon to be introduced with respect to Government officials, in a document to which we attach great expectations. It will undoubtedly make it easier to cut through red-tape. It will be helpful in raising the culture of work within the State administration. It will also help us to study complaints, letters and various demands in a thorough and objective manner.

The open nature of the conduct of state affairs, the ready flow of information on action programmes and how they are implemented, are conducive to social control. There are many such factors. Meetings of members of the political and State leadership with factory staffs and representatives of various sectors of society have become a systematic practice. They constitute yet another form of comparing intentions and deeds with social expectations, and a source of knowledge on the problems experienced by the working people. We expect the local chapters of this movement also to inspire and organize such meetings, as was the case yesterday.

The notion of "consultation" has entered the vocabulary of public life. Investigation of social opinion of the drafts of key decisions and solutions concerning State and economic issues is gradually becoming regular practice. This is an important element in the system of safeguards against the recurrence of arbitrariness and arrogance by the authorities. With this in mind, the recent joint meeting of the Government Presidium and the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the matter of consultation is ripe for legislation. The provisions of the respective Bill were published today and will be subject to public discussion.

The recurring question is: What guarantees exist that the purposes we have set regarding the functioning of the State will be consistently implemented, and to the very end? There is only one answer: the consolidation of popular rule, mass public participation in resolving public issues in all domains and at all levels of public life. As Lenin wrote with great foresight: "Organizing, concentrating and drawing the masses into intense and creative activity is the key to the solution of the most difficult tasks in the socialist reconstruction of society".

Difficult years lie ahead. Hence the greater urgency for the interlinking of social activity with state efficiency.

The population experts forecast that in seven years time there will be over two million more of us. In the year 2000 we will be a 40 million-strong nation. Over 32 million people, i.e. as many as 80 per cent, will be citizens born in People's Poland. Those born in 1982 will be coming of age.

The low average age of Polish society is a tremendous asset. But it also presents many complex tasks. It is estimated that in sixteen years' time, due to the high birth rate, there will be almost five million young people of school age. At the same time, the number of old-age and other pensioners will total some six million.

The following figures will serve as a synthesis of this trend. In 1980, for every 1,000 employees there were almost the same number of non-employed; in 1985 the figure will be 1,130 and in 1990—1,300. The curtailed working day is additionally aggravating the situation. Needs in education, culture and health protection will increase. There will be a further growth in housing requirements. Such is the reality.

Compared with many others, our country abounds in natural resources. It must not be forgotten, however, that the extraction of minerals is extremely capital-intensive and absorbs large investment outlays. The resources are irrecoverable. That is why they have to be used with circumspection. Such is our great, national duty.

Land, from which the nation reaps its food, is of particular importance among the natural resources. The development of cities, industry, and transport involves an inevitable decrease in the acreage of arable land. Since 1945, one and a half million hectares have ceased to yield crops, corresponding to an area larger than that of two average provinces. Statisticians estimate that by the year 2000 we shall lose the area of another average-sized province. The conclusion is absolutely clear. There are more and more of us and less and less land. The cultivation of every scrap of land and attainment of higher yields of crops is becoming an issue of the utmost importance.

The evident benefits brought by the expansion of civilization are increasingly offset by diverse threats. Polluted rivers and air, a shortage of water—these are the problems from which we cannot escape, but neither need we fall into despair.

Immense, multi-billion outlays are required for the protection of the environment. But even the largest outlays will not suffice if Man and society at large fail to co-operate. What is needed is a new look at Poland as a physical entity—still beautiful, but threatened in its beauty. To sin against the natural world—the fauna and flora, the landscape—deserves our condemnation. This also poses a great problem of social education.

Let us look at the world around us. Another technological breakthrough: a search for cheaper sources of energy, economical technologies and qualitatively new solutions is under way in most advanced, industrialized countries. Are we to come to terms with degradation, with a second- or even third-rate place in world progress?

This is a real challenge. The future of Poland, her eventual position, has to be decided upon today, now. What is required is realistic thinking. In a world

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We are aware of society's aspirations, its new needs, born as civilization advances. We do not want to be a country of disappointed, deprived people with no prospect of a justified and decent wage, or of affluence gained through decent work. Whatever we have in our homes, however modest and unattractive, must be the result of honest work and be shared out firmly and justly.

Poland boasts great material and human potential. It is no secret that this is not being used to the full. Today, Poland has almost one and a half million people with higher education, including almost 400,000 graduate engineers of various specializations. Six out of every hundred adult Poles hold an academic diploma, and 33,000 hold a Ph.D. degree. There are about 5,000 assistant professors and 3,000 professors. One could claim, therefore, that we are one of Europe's scientific powers. But how are we to reconcile this with the fact that we lag behind in many fields of science, technology, natural and social sciences?

The easiest answer would be that the authorities have failed to create the proper conditions for scientific development. Obviously there is some truth in this statement. But is the scientific community really free of blame? Can the "national soul-searching" omit the employees of various institutes, scientific and research centres? They have scored numerous achievements and Poland can rightfully be proud of them. But their achievements are far too few to match the needs and possibilities.

There is no field of our social and economic life without substantial reserves and possibilities for increased activity. The economic reform is an important lever. A proper and constructive social climate is necessary for this reform and for many others of the undertakings recently carried out. The Patriotic Movement for National Revival may contribute greatly to the creation of such a climate.

Energy and imagination come less easily under the pressure of hardship. But no nation can do without them.

I am addressing these words first of all to the young. Do not submit to the psychosis of hopelessness and absurd theories of "a lost generation". The future is yours, and you are the future of Poland. What she will be like will depend to a great extent on your work, your education and your attitude. Facts and deeds will be decisive. The platform on which they may be created is becoming increasingly wider. This platform is created by professional work but also by the Patriotic Movement for National Revival, the trade unions, and workplace and local self-governing bodies. Those who are absent are never right; they lag behind and lose their opportunity. We believe that the young, patriotic generation of Poles will perform their sacred duty to their homeland with dignity.

We have laid firm foundations under the edifice of the socialist reforms. The crisis under way is hindering their full utilization. However, for everybody who can and wants to look objectively, a more mature Poland, on the mend, is already evident.

The unprecedented political stimulation of society in recent years, the high scale of tensions and discussions—all this makes us still tend to think in categories of a “pre-August”, “post-August”, “pre-December”, or “post-December” Poland.³

Life goes on by its own rules. Time runs fast. Poland in May 1983 is already a different country. Every subsequent month will distance us from the chapter we closed in August 1980 and from the abyss we faced at the turn of 1981. It will force us to resolve the complex problems of the end of the 20th century.

A great responsibility to our Homeland, the socialist community, Europe and the entire world rests upon us, irrespective of differing opinions.

Let us make sure that the map of the Polish People's Republic is the final and irrevocable map of our country. May the socialist sovereign State of the Poles become a lasting, constructive factor of peace in Europe.

This meeting presents a good opportunity to make this task resound loudly as a national appeal.

We believe that the Patriotic Movement for National Revival will live up to social expectations. I trust that while discussing Poland, all who are gathered here may see before them a Poland moving forward.

Notes

1. **golden horn.** This term comes from the classical drama *Wesele* (Wedding Party), by the playwright, poet and painter Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907), in which one of the *personae* loses a charmed, golden horn. The golden horn and its loss symbolize the careless loss by Poland of an opportunity to regain her independence.
2. **noblemen's councils.** From the late 14th century, such councils were the territorial governing bodies of the landed gentry in Poland. They enjoyed wide powers, passed decisions, elected members to Parliament, nominated local administrative officers and approved local taxes. From the 17th century onward, when the principle of *liberum veto* was accepted, these councils became synonymous with squabbling and barren discussion.
3. **pre-August, post-August, pre-December, post-December Poland.** A reference to the errors committed in the economic and social policies of the government of the late 1970s, which led to the August 1980 crisis. This resulted in social and economic collapse, with the increasing upsurge of anarchy prior to December 1981, halted by the imposition of martial law.

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Speech at the Meeting with Pope John Paul II in the Belvedere Palace 17 June 1983

I sincerely welcome Your Holiness to the Polish People's Republic, the Homeland of all Poles. For the second time the head of the Roman Catholic Church has taken the pilgrim's way to his native land, to Polish soil.

We all derive from this Land. She is our mother. The banes of history have tested her beyond human endurance. Often has she suffered "pestilence, hunger, fire and war", and often have beseeching supplications been made over the centuries to turn them aside. She has known the bitterness of numerous defeats and futile uprisings; of generations marching to their death as if "stones thrown on a rampart".

It was given to Your Holiness to share the most tragic experience of the 20th century: to belong to a nation doomed to annihilation by the Nazi genocidal criminals. This is an unusual moral premise, which imparts an unique meaningfulness today to the words of the Head of the Holy See.

Poland has arisen to life. She has arisen as an independent, sovereign State, reborn in a new, just, territorial form. The third generation of children is being born in Polish Gdańsk, Wrocław and Szczecin. It was no whim of history which demarcated this area for us. Forty years ago Polish left-wing groupings pointed the nation on to a socialist road. It was due to that historical juncture that the great toll of life and blood paid by this land's most devoted sons has not been wasted.

Untold soldiers' graves, like eternal mementoes, lie along the pilgrim's way of Your Holiness. Many of them also hold the ashes of "Muscovite friends", to quote the words of the poet Adam Mickiewicz. Thousands of them there are, hundreds of thousands, who gave their young lives that we might live.

The collective memory of those abhorrent days will stay with us forever. We have drawn from them the proper conclusions. The external security of the State is served today by real alliances. As never before in our history, our

Republic's frontiers are not on fire: all are frontiers of friendship. Not a single square centimetre of Polish land is or will be a topic for discussion. There are no differences on this matter among the Polish people.

Yet the spectre of a new war is emerging again, a war hundreds of times more destructive than all previous ones. Armaments are reaching a dangerous, outrightly critical level. Absurd designs to ensure victory are being woven. A "limited atomic war" is planned, as if hell on earth could have limits.

A grand anti-war call is sweeping through the world. Peace is today's supreme goal. People's Poland has always been in the forefront of the ardent advocates of peace. In the face of the new dangers, Poland is actively participating in the peace efforts of the socialist community, in its constructive initiatives. The Government and public opinion of the Polish People's Republic are closely following the momentous pronouncements of the Holy See in the defence of the boon common to all nations—the right to live in peace.

Tension in international relations has coincided in time with the aggravation of Poland's internal problems. Fire blazes forth from the embers. Hence Poland's great, joint responsibility for "our peace and yours". The familiar course of events led us to take a dramatically difficult but imperative decision. This was a decision taken *in extremis*, the ultimate alternative.

It is said that Poland suffers. But who has ever weighed the enormity of human suffering, torment and tears successfully avoided? At this juncture, let me recall once again the memorable words of Tadeusz Kościuszko: "There is a time when much must be sacrificed to save all." We do not fear the judgement of posterity; it will be just—certainly more balanced than many contemporary assessments.

Your Holiness uttered important and significant words during your previous pilgrimage: "The State as an expression of sovereignty, self-determination of particular peoples and nations is the proper materialization of social order—and in this also lies its moral authority." This statement, compatible with the traditional and contemporary comprehension of the essence of the State, is accepted by us with sincere appreciation.

When the State becomes weaker or slips into anarchy—it is the nation that pays the price. We, in Poland, know all too well this historic truth. It has guided and continues to guide our actions. But we are not looking for easy excuses. We judge our own mistakes with unprecedented frankness, though the fault has not only been on the side of the authorities. It was not the authorities who pushed the country to the brink of calamity.

Today, however, we want to look above all to the future, to a better tomorrow for Poland. We are firmly embarked upon the course of reform. Renewal in the social condition and the moral health of the nation, putting an end to shortcomings and wrongdoings, care for youth, family, mother and child—these are issues to which we are deeply committed. The efforts of the State in this field are increasingly often embodied in Acts of the *Sejm*.

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Daily life is difficult. We are labouring under adversity. People suffer many painful inconveniences. There is still much resentment and bitterness. But we have survived the worst. The country has embarked on the road towards a better future. Our society has proved itself able to raise its thoughts above today's rifts and perplexities, giving evidence of patriotic responsibility and sacrifice with each passing day.

However, we are not alone in the world. We are a part of general history, one of many nations. We have friends who did not desert us at the time of need. But hostile forces have combined to harm our State. The boycott and restrictions are affecting the material existence of the Polish nation. False allegations multiply. The image of today's Poland is being distorted.

As Your Holiness untiringly travels across so many different countries, you come to know much human indignity and misery. Representatives of peoples who are denied the right to freedom, to independent existence, perish daily in the struggle against foreign oppression.

How many societies are plagued by the disaster of unemployment, which is a violation of human dignity and fundamental human rights. Even in advanced and rich countries there are areas of poverty, vice and misery. The moral sensitivity, so typical of Your Holiness, surely makes it possible against this background to make a correct assessment of real dimensions of our current problems and our real achievements.

We cast our thoughts back to the first years of reconstruction, when the bloodless country which had been turned into smouldering ruins ventured to "hitch its wagon to a star". Hardly anyone believed in our success at that time, but despite this, Poland is no more a country of thatched roofs, of millions of illiterates, of hungry people waiting for the harvest, of destitute miners rummaging for coal in waste tips, of seasonal farm workers and jobless.

In People's Poland the working people have become the true subject of politics. The ideas of equality and social justice have put down deep roots. The working class and peasants have won the civic status for which they had unsuccessfully fought for generations. Suffice it to look at the Podhale region, so close to Your Holiness, once depicted by our writer as a land of "crying poverty and injustice" but which, prosperous and changed beyond recognition, today tills its own land.

The historic progress made by our Homeland is an irrefutable fact. For a thousand years our nation has been an inseparable component of European civilization and culture. People's Poland is the heir of this proud past. It desires to participate, on an equal footing, in its further enhancement. It is to be regretted that ignoble use is being made of our serious internal problems. We do not want to be a pawn on anyone's chess board.

We have discarded our illusions. Genuine intentions towards Poland must be judged not by words but by deeds. This is no new truth. Long before we

were born, the great men of our nation gave evidence of this. Some of them rest in the crypts of the Wawel¹ Cathedral.

We understand the Polish Pope's concern over the destiny of his native land. It is with great seriousness that we treat thoughts and appeals characterized by a spirit of compassion and patriotic concern.

Replying twice last year to messages addressed by Your Holiness to me, I had the opportunity to present the point of view of the authorities, our desires and intentions. Much has changed since then. Further stages of normalization have been passed. I confirm our will to lift martial law and to apply appropriate humanitarian and legal solutions. Should the situation in the country develop favourably, this may take place even at a not too distant date.

The future of the nation and the standing of the State will be determined primarily by work, by the creative effort of scientists and technicians, the development of education and culture and the united labour of all citizens. But it will be decided equally by the virtue of prudence and by what is of such value in public life—responsibility and circumspection.

National conciliation is indispensable for Poland. The most recent period has brought significant progress in this respect. We will continue to follow that road. Differences of outlook are no obstacle in this. The Homeland is a common asset to all who were and are building it. The basic divisions today run between those who are building the Homeland and those who impede that effort. Our laws do not punish people for holding views, they ban only anti-State actions incompatible with the Constitution. Whoever engages in them, whoever plays a dishonest game, is not worthy of trust.

People's Poland is the common possession of all Poles—members of religious communities and those who have no religious beliefs. The Roman Catholic Church, however, enjoys a special place in the Polish community, linked with the nation's history and with the present day at many levels.

Four years ago, here in the Belvedere, Your Holiness uttered the memorable words: "The Church does not desire any privileges for its activity besides—and exclusively—that which is indispensable to fulfil its mission."

This wish is treated with high regard by the authorities of our State. The Church enjoys good conditions for its pastoral activities. There is unlimited and universally known evidence of that. The religious needs of the faithful are being satisfied. A dialogue with the leading officials of the Episcopate is being pursued without interruption. Areas for co-operation in promoting social good and combatting moral evil are being opened up. Lay Catholics command prominent positions in public life. All in all, a feasible opportunity has emerged for agreeing good, long term relations between the State and the Church in tune with the interest of the nation. In this cause, the authorities of the Polish People's Republic will not be found lacking in good will.

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1. Wawel. A castle located. It was the site of royal authorities. The castle and the cathedral were buried. The site is now a UNESCO World Heritage site.
2. Siege of Wawel. The Polish army, commanded by King Sigismund, marched at the castle, but was halted by the Czech army.
3. Jan Matejko's painting. A painting by the Polish painter Jan Matejko, depicting the Polish king Jan III Sobieski, by detailing the sentiment of the Polish people during the siege of Wawel.

A visit by the head of the Roman Catholic Church is a great event. Our honoured guest, whose links with his Homeland are so strong, is welcomed in this country with particular cordiality and profound respect.

The intellectually and morally valuable contribution of Your Holiness to the cause of peace, reconciliation and mutual tolerance meets with sincere appreciation. The world is closely following the pastoral pilgrimage of the Head of the Holy See. We are confident that this pilgrimage will result in further moral guidelines to strengthen the will of accord and convey the message of peace; that it will become a bright page in the open book of Polish history.

Your Holiness' visit adds splendour to the forthcoming 300th anniversary of the victorious raising of the Siege of Vienna.² On this occasion may I be allowed to present to you, as a gift from the supreme authorities of the Polish People's Republic, this uniquely embossed breast-plate of hussar armour as a souvenir of the knights who brought fame to Polish military achievements.

Also please accept this landscape painting by Aleksander Mroczkowski, a disciple of Jan Matejko.³ May this panorama of the Tatra Mountains remind Your Holiness of the beauty of your Homeland.

Notes

1. **Wawel.** A hill in the city of Kraków, on which a monumental group of ancient buildings is located. It was the fortified settlement of a Slavonic tribe from the 8th century, and a major seat of royal authority from the 10th century. Located on this hill are the famous 13th-century Royal Castle and the Wawel Cathedral, where the ashes of many monarchs and other famous Poles are buried. The Kraków architectural and urban building complex has been entered in the UNESCO world heritage list.
2. **Siege of Vienna.** King John III Sobieski, who ruled Poland between 1674 and 1696, marched at the head of crack Polish units in 1683 to raise the siege of Vienna by the Turkish army, commanded by the Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha. The Polish military effort was decisive in halting Turkish expansion in Europe.
3. **Jan Matejko (1838-93).** The most eminent 19th century representative of Polish historical painting. The subjects he painted were mainly taken from Polish history, invariably preceded by detailed historical studies. Matejko's works are characterized by the deep patriotic sentiments, which played no small part in keeping alive and strengthening the national spirit during partition.

9.

Statement at the Conclusion of the PUWP Central Committee's 13th Plenary Meeting 15 October 1983

Excerpts

The extraordinary measures of martial law, our uncompromising struggle against our opponents, as well as our patient quest for conciliation, and above all our consistency in implementing socialist renewal have yielded generally evident progress in normalization. But these achievements are not of our making alone. Alongside those who were in the front line from the very beginning, a contribution to progress has also been made by those who made their choice only gradually. A considerable contribution to national salvation has also been made by those who, in spite of misgivings and doubts, have spoken out at critical moments and continue to speak out today in favour of order, social peace and work.

Normalization is not an aim in itself. It is only a pre-condition for success, for further progress. The future will depend on how we make use of normalization.

In his book dealing with the events of 1944, Zbigniew Załuski¹ suggestively described how enormously the final victory of People's Poland was influenced by the seemingly grey and unattractive days of the Lublin beginnings.² That was the period of consolidation of the factors which determined the victory of the Polish left wing groupings and the strengthening of the popular regime. As the Manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation heralded a new historic path for the nation, so the 9th Congress authenticated this path and proclaimed our return to our roots.

Many will remember the importance the Party attached in the early post-war years to creating something concrete every day which would confirm the

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working people in the conviction that this was their own regime and their own system. The same holds for the present period. We have already created the necessary prerequisites and the indispensable structure for what is popularly known as socialist renewal. Now the fate of the programme of the 9th Congress is being forged in daily work, in daily dialogue with the working class and with society.

The "*Report on the work of the PUWP CC Commission, set up to explain the causes and course of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland*", adopted by the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, shows clearly that all the socio-economic conflicts which have taken place in our country have had one common denominator—the weakening of the political, moral and psychological ties between the Party and the working class, ties which determine the strength of our Party and its place in the life of society. The more concrete and tangible confirmation there will be that we are not flagging in our work to redress errors, that we are really implementing the reforms, and that we are able to implement them, the smaller will be the field of influence of our opponents and the greater will be society's confidence in our ideology and in our policy.

Our line is and must be clear and plain. At the present stage it is not enough to declare that there can be no return to the anarchy of before 13 December 1981, that there can be no return to the distortions of before August 1980. These words should be inscribed, if I may use the image, in every Party membership card. For we are still involved in a sharp struggle. It is not taking place in the streets and generally not on the visible surface of life, but primarily in its depths, in the sphere of social consciousness. The fact that the Central Committee is tackling the problems of ideology shows the Party's response to this situation.

Martial law has been lifted, but aggressive propaganda and the multi-level activity of the enemy are not slackening for a moment. The enemy has not given up the intentions which we thwarted on 13 December 1981. We have managed to weaken the opponent fundamentally and to force him on to the defensive, but we must still be firm and consistent. It may be said that various indirect methods, attempts at achieving the same goal but a little bit differently, at a different pace and through different means, have also been used. The maintenance of a state of insecurity, boycotts and "whispering campaigns", anniversary disturbances and social demagoguery—these are some of the forms of struggle employed by our opponents who derive from the pre-December 1981 period. That is what keeps their hopes alive that a "second stage" of sorts will occur, that the authorities will not withstand the pressure of the West, that they will become weary, that they will grow lax, that they will be bewitched by all kinds of cloud-cuckoo-land offers. The same purpose is served by despicable calls that the imperialists' restrictive measures be maintained. These calls were highlighted in the American press recently,

presented by one of the former leaders of the previous Association of Polish Journalists, now resident in the West.

Our opponents' calculations that we shall back down are unrealistic. Nothing is going to divert us from the chosen road. The militant, unequivocal atmosphere of our Plenum has reaffirmed this. Today it has become a tested and approved road. It constitutes a fundamental and, at the same time, creative continuation of what has been best and most fruitful throughout the forty years of People's Poland.

The ideological, political and educational task consists today in making the working class, the largest possible number of people and practically the whole nation, understand the essence, the wisdom and the determinants of the current situation. We are dealing with a sore social tissue. In the political sense, then, we are still in a peculiar state of emergency. Today, one pays double for every error. Every correct step is only half registered.

To reconstruct the Party's ties with its class, with the working people, and to regain their confidence is today's major task. Day after day, step by step we must diminish the gap which has developed between the Party and a section of the working people. This can be achieved in only one way: people must feel that the Party is a vital necessity to them; that it stands close to them; that it constitutes the surest mainstay in their struggle against difficulties and maladies, against emaciation and stagnation, against every kind of evil; and that its programme and the tasks it maps out have only the good of the nation in mind.

Our own actions since the 9th Congress, since 13 December, cannot be exempt from thorough evaluation.

We must give daily account of the manner in which we are overcoming the crisis, the way in which we are remedying and reforming particular features of life. We know that we have done much, but we have not done everything that should be done.

This applies also to the leadership of the Party, which is far from being self-complacent. For instance, we have not managed so far to make sufficient progress in such important issues as the comprehensive education of youth for the difficulties it faces. Under the burden of everyday problems, we have not managed to devote enough attention to future tasks. Enforcing the total implementation of resolutions and decisions is still not our strong point. And it would also be expedient to hold still more meetings of the Party and State leadership with workplace staff, and with Party and social activists. We—and that includes the First Secretary himself—shall draw from this all possible and necessary conclusions.

At today's meeting we have to emphasize first of all that the system of theoretical assistance and ideological reinforcement of Party activity is not yet functioning sufficiently well. It is no secret that proper ideological orientation is absolutely necessary to outline objectives and set out arguments, if they are

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to be met with understanding. But it is facts that count. They either lend wings to an idea or undermine or even compromise it.

When we consider ideology, we are speaking not of an abstract thing but of a factor which motivates human conduct and deeply permeates it. We all have just one life, and everybody, whether he admits it or not, has an ideology which guides him in his everyday conduct. Ideology is an expression of class interests. Therefore it determines much in the life of any person: his attitude towards great and small social issues, his attitude towards work, the problems in his private life, the example he sets to his children.

It is true that material existence shapes a person's awareness; but without proper awareness it is also difficult to shape material life. One can repeatedly observe that people, or even whole social strata, who owe everything to Socialism, including their high living standards, education, professional promotion, popularity, and the career opportunities of which they have taken full advantage, are simply panting with hatred of the popular regime. On the other hand, how many honest, diligent and dedicated people, who grapple with painful difficulties, with high costs of living, with the housing shortage, with the arrogance of log-rolling cliques, have nevertheless not lost their trust in Socialism nor the conviction that the popular regime is their own regime.

It is not only we communists who attach great importance to ideological issues. No less importance is attached to them by our opponents, who are disseminating their views everywhere they can and in every possible way. Even in the queues and in marketplaces, in school classes and canteens, at home, in private conversations and in everyday conduct we find some kind of ideology, some kind of a system of values.

The ideological struggle is being waged every day and everywhere. Its battle line runs through all milieux and groups of people, through every conversation on socially important matters. It is the Party's duty to participate in this debate and to defend socialist, working-class interests; to counter hostile arguments, to convince and to conciliate. Many of those who have spoken on this during our debate have done so in a mature and interesting way.

We shall have grounds to feel satisfaction with the ideological condition of our Party when, as in the first years of People's Poland, Party members will speak a simple and unsophisticated language to people like themselves, the working people, about what to live for, what to rely on, what to aspire to and struggle for. There are many such comrades and their number is still growing. But as was said today, there are also those who "suffer in silence" when the Party is insulted and maltreated in their presence, and are afraid to speak up. There are also "cabinet revolutionaries", who display their adherence to principles within their group but will not speak up or write publicly, hiding behind generalizations which offer them no inconvenience.

What Lenin left to posterity is an example of both theoretical creativity and revolutionary activity; it is also an example of objectivity, concrete action, dislike of verbosity and immense respect for small effects which give rise to great things.

The point, of course, is not to go from one extreme to another. Excessive attention to practical effort is harmful. But facts speak louder than words. What is indispensable for the Party is a deep sense of realism and an acute practical sense. Ideological activity grows from life, from practice.

Much has always been said, but particularly nowadays, about the role and importance of the working class, the role and importance of Marxism-Leninism. To some, these words are constantly present in declarations and in writing. It seems to some that the more you use such ornamental phrases, the better an adherent you are to the basic principles. Marxism-Leninism, of course, is expressed and should be expressed in words, but it is most important that it be in one's mind and heart, and first of all in one's deeds and conduct.

The life of the nation runs through valleys eroded by history. It cannot be turned back to the starting-point. The task of the living generation consists in shaping the section of history for which it is responsible in accordance with the requirements of the times and the logic of social progress. Exhumation of the concept of Poland being a "bulwark of Christianity", the reanimation of those catastrophic concepts which caused enemies to be sought close at hand and friends far away—all this is abuse of patriotism and calls for firm counteraction in our own, deeply Polish, interest.

We shall not flag in the struggle against attempts to rehabilitate doctrines and political trends repudiated by history, to explain historical events in the spirit of nationalism and Polono-centrism, national nihilism and cosmopolitan complexes of little value.

Our opponents are trying to resurrect the most reactionary trends of the past, and at the same time calling upon Poland to assume, as the first and probably the only country in the world, the risk of testing forms of economic and social organization which have never been proved feasible anywhere. In today's world there is no modish idea or intellectual absurdity which they do not employ in the struggle against the Party and the socialist State.

The ideological struggle which is underway in the factories, among their personnel, is of particular importance for the working-class vanguard. The Party must keep in continuous touch with workers' aspirations and expectations, and with what preoccupies them. The shaping of their awareness must be linked with firm action against the implantation of ideas and views by forces and groupings hostile to Socialism. If the Party disregards the experiences and feelings of the workers and the working people in general, it is no longer a Party of the masses but becomes an organization bound with red-tape. If, in turn, it succumbs to unchallenged pressures, it becomes a tool of demagoguery and undergoes ideological erosion.

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The Party does not have to be ingratiating. Its duty is to speak out the truth and nothing but the truth. Its obligation is to make the working class and the entire nation aware of what is possible, yet also of what is necessary.

The Party is neither a missionary nor an administrator. Many times we have had to and will, in the future, surely have to tackle hard and unpopular decisions in order to serve the workers' interests well. The Party cannot delude people with empty declarations and promises, nor yield to demands which cannot be fulfilled. The class nature of the Party should manifest itself in systematic daily activity among the working class, in workers' organizations. Activity in the unions, youth organizations and self-management bodies is a Party member's essential obligation.

It does not suffice to be right and to have a correct ideology. Ideology becomes widespread, wins hearts and minds only when it falls on soil fertilized with real, hard facts. The opposite is a bad state of affairs. There are still people who have not understood much and have not learned anything. The dramatic events of the past period have fallen off them like water off a duck's back. Again it is they who know best, who strut around with chests thrown out. For them people exist only to be directed peremptorily, without concern for what they think, what they feel, what is worrying them and what dilemmas they have. Again, there are people who are falling into a "top-brass" style of life and work and manifest excessive good-fortune in their private affairs. Their life-style is one of bureaucratic convenience, observing rigid norms of office hours. Many of those who are so sure of themselves today were yesterday keeping a safe distance from developments.

Past experience has left a particular moral sensitivity to even the smallest crack which, in the exercise of authority, can appear between theory and practice. Diligent and honest people are predominant in the Party and administration. But there are signals—and voices at the Plenum have confirmed them—that in some rural and urban communities and also in individual workplaces a climate dominated by cliques, log-rolling, "taking care of number one", insensitivity to human matters, to human wrongs, has again appeared.

I do not want to deal with matters which have been resolved by organs of Party control, but one cannot pass over in silence the facts which have come to light concerning Party members with various functions in industry, housing construction, trade and services—who participate in different kinds of corrupt practices or acts of gross negligence and thriftlessness. Let us put it simply: harmful activity.

All order begins at home. Party members can be found everywhere: in factories, institutions, head offices, social insurance agencies, post offices, the railways, clinics, and shops. They are in all levels of local government. If somewhere things are going badly, work is proceeding less well than conditions allow, the service is bad and it takes a long time to get anything

settled, then the loser is our Party. One might even say that all the anomalies which occur in this sphere come from the same zoo—"work as slowly as tortoise" or "be blind as a mole", when it comes to human affairs or social needs.

We could be reproached for exaggerating the importance of moral issues, but that would be unjust. In a socialist society, renewal is understood not only as a set of political, programme provisions, not only as the sum of institutional and legal reforms, but most of all as the degree of change which can be observed in one's own closest environment. Nobody will believe that the renewal is real if all areas of life are not consistently swept clean of evil, social and moral deformities.

We focus the spotlight of criticism intentionally on negative phenomena. Bright light makes it easier to see how they contrast—and this I would like to emphasize once again—with the attitudes of diligence and honesty which prevail in the Party, the organs of people's authority and the public services. So if we speak of this so harshly, it is because we have in mind political action by the Party, the halting of the rot before it degenerates to dangerous dimensions. We are well aware from numerous and painful experiences what they lead to at the end of the day.

It is good, then, that our Plenum took a militant and no-nonsense stance, that it was critical. All the more so since other attitudes can also be seen: self-satisfied people, who consider that all errors are over and done with.

We have never claimed to be infallible. But there will be fewer errors and they will cost less if criticism and self-criticism become an everyday practice in a natural and quite unsensational approach.

Errors are avoided only by people who stand aside and avoid taking decisions, or who bear no responsibilities and do not wish to acquire any. But perhaps even more blameworthy and harmful is not so much to commit an error but to postpone, neglect or put off a matter which should be settled today. Such attitudes, such tardiness and passivity are still not so scarce.

In this light, it is extremely important that the Party oppose all kinds of evil. Criticism and a decisive struggle against phenomena which run counter to Socialism and therefore supply ammunition for the enemy, should come from within our ranks first of all.

The discussion touched on problems of ideological danger. I would like to discuss them briefly now.

Revisionism and dogmatism scarcely occur in crystal pure form. What is more, neither a revisionist nor a dogmatist considers himself as such. The first considers himself the only authentic generator of socialist renewal, the other—the only true defender of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party is acting in conditions of sharp class struggle. Sooner or later, inevitably, an overt or sometimes camouflaged class enemy will get at an opportunist or capitulator, an ideologically "sloppy" activist, who has

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But the rumbling of various "reviewers" of the Party line, self-styled "guardians of the holy flame" are useless, too. Adherence to principles does not consist of a cannonade of sharply phrased words, but in the ability to convince people, to initiate the process of transformation which effectively moves the cause of Socialism forward.

The most important thing, however, is not what is happening in the so-called wings, on which after all it is impossible to fly upwards, but at the basic core of our Party. This is becoming increasingly cohesive and uniform, even though a considerable number of Party comrades have not yet become fully acquainted with the resolutions of the 9th Congress. Their attitudes are often indeterminate. In this context, it must be stated quite clearly—ignorance, lack of knowledge, superficiality and the confusion of notions are also dangerous opponents. Knowledge of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism is not sufficient. Some Party members evaluate issues "at a guess" and sometimes they yield to sensationalism and gossip. Sometimes there is an elementary lack of knowledge of facts and figures. The number of Party members reading the Party press, and especially *Nowe Drogi*, *Trybuna Ludu*⁴ and other papers is not sufficient. Every Party member should know the ABC of ideology and history, politics and economy. There are no views of our opponents that could not be countered by reasonable arguments, class analysis.

Of course, not every Party member can be a theoretician. But each should be a man whose unrelenting personal attitude, stock of basic arguments and way of presenting them should arouse, in his immediate environment—where he works and lives—genuine respect and simple human interest.

To be a communist means first of all to be a courageous and frank person. It means to be among people, to grapple day after day with the world as it is, to teach others and to learn from others, to listen to workers and to explain to workers what is most important today for Poland and for our ideals.

A communist should respect human individuality, differences of taste and the right to privacy, but in fundamental issues he must be a genuine and not a celluloid "man of iron".⁵

I could quote the Party statute here. Had it been strictly observed by everybody we would have been much farther ahead.

National reconciliation, being a precondition for the success of the 9th Congress policy line, is based on class alliances and not on everyone agreeing with everyone else. The point is not to hush up class, political and outlook differences but to achieve consolidation around basic national interests and the principles of the socialist system, treated inseparably.

We are conducting and shall continue to conduct an unceasing struggle against the enemy and a campaign against alien trends. There are Poles with whom we do not intend to come to terms. There will be no pact with the

enemy, with the lackeys of imperialist subversion. But to those who—often in good faith, carried away by emotions or bitterness—have gone politically astray, we reach out a hand, giving them a chance to save face while retreating from a blind alley. We are constantly and sincerely working to increase the number of bridges over which people may cross to our side, to the side of Socialism. It was Lenin who said that if you have not personally won over for your cause at least one unconvinced person, you cannot consider yourself a communist.

Many of those who took the floor underlined that the situation in our country is similar to that of a front line.

It is true that to the Party it is not without importance whence and why a new comrade or ally has arrived among us; but it is by far more important on whose side he has declared himself to stand, how he is behaving today, what he is serving.

Is it not true, for instance, that today we see around us—in national headquarters, in the provinces and in local rural government—people who a few years ago were still considered indifferent or vacillating and who in the years of painful trial for the Party made an unambiguous ideological choice. How many people join the Party “in order to test themselves”, as a young worker put it in a conversation with a *Trybuna Ludu* reporter.

Here I shall refer to war-time experience. When shells fall, a soldier does not ask his mate in the trench where he came from, or who he was. The important thing is what that person is doing at that moment, how he is behaving, whether he can be relied upon. As you know, a considerable number of the 1st Division and the 1st Army were people whose sense of having been wronged, of perplexity and doubts was very strong, but nevertheless they did not fail in battle. Not simply and solely because they were united by the supreme aim of the struggle against fascism, the struggle for Poland's independence, but because Polish communists managed to raise their morale and because Soviet comrades in arms set them an example, created an ideological climate and went together with them through fire and water.

The obligation to display patience and tact concerns most particularly contacts with the youth. Persistence and determination are required when fighting for the hearts of the young. There is nothing more important than to regain and win them over for the cause of Socialism.

Criticism is a natural trait of youth. Let us inspire the young to struggle against evil in all its forms. The opportunity now exists to return to the experience which, in the period of the Fighting Youth Union [ZWM]⁶ and the Polish Youth Union [ZMP]⁷, led their members to become the spearhead against reaction and obscurantism.

A natural trait of youth is also ambition, the desire to distinguish oneself. We should create conditions for the young to prove themselves in onerous tasks, and offer the practical opportunity to raise their qualifications, and to

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win well-earned promotion and appreciation. Let society see the young Party activists, the allied political forces, the Patriotic Movement for National Revival, the trade unions, people's councils and self-management bodies, the young directors and managers, inventors and innovators and young artists who are committed to the idea of Socialism, and who are not "indifferent". And let us above all take steps to increase their numbers.

Recent years have revealed and considerably augmented the fact that social consciousness often lags behind socialist production relations. In the minds of many people the interrelation between what is due to us and what we should give of ourselves has been ruptured. This best justifies the need for persistent efforts to pursue the socialist principle of social justice "from each according to his possibilities, to each according to his work" and to substantiate it not only where economic distribution is concerned, but also in the sphere of labour, production and management, as well as in personnel policy as a whole.

In today's discussion the painful irregularities and disproportions which have occurred in the process of change in the social system in Poland were very properly highlighted. At present, we must focus our attention first of all on overcoming what is reflected in the contradiction between the considerable, modern production potential of many branches and the poor labour organization, low quality work and productivity and insufficient managerial effectiveness.

The errors committed, all the weaknesses we speak so openly of, do not change the fact that the last forty years have been a truly crucial period, a stage of the deepest transformations and fastest progress in our trouble-fraught history. Allow me to limit myself to one argument, very untypical at that. An extremely interesting book will soon appear, entitled *Dysproporcje* [Disproportions], written in 1931 by Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, the pre-war Deputy Premier, one of the founders of the Central Industrial District⁸ of Gdynia, who participated in the reconstruction of that city after the war as the plenipotentiary of the People's Government. If, then, a decision has been taken to publish a book written by a man who held high posts before the war, it was because the book is an important ideological argument in our favour. It clearly shows that only a Party of the working class, only revolutionary changes could ensure in Poland the implementation of those indispensable socio-cultural and economic transformations, the need for which was sensed long ago by the most enlightened minds of the past epoch.

Let me go back to the beginning of my remarks. Why is it that millions of working people—Polish workers who get up at dawn and often have difficulty in making ends meet, who risk their lives every day as they do in the mining industry and in other fields, and who now have to grapple not only with physical problems but also with ignorance and boycott—have not quit the Party ranks? Why is it that thousands of comrades from local Party headquarters, from the Party apparatus, from the administration, who are

under the enemy fire every day or are pushed around by fools, have not given in or retreated, and are not retreating, but remain within the Party?

We observe the applause accorded to renegades, former communists, all those who either considered that it was time to get off the bandwagon or had never anything in common with the Party in moral or political respects. Those present today could undoubtedly mention many who overnight became turncoats to win a "good behaviour certificate" from those to whom the Party is the most dangerous and most difficult "obstacle" to overcome.

Our Party has experienced and survived a difficult ordeal. It has stood firm on its major positions. It has confirmed its right to rule the State and to lead the nation. It would be more apt to say that this test was passed by every Party member individually. All those who, not only in the most difficult moments, but also today are able to fight with ordinary human fatigue, with the weakness nobody is free of, with sometimes reprehensible slander, gossip, aspersion, are the Party's most invaluable asset.

Many critical and bitter words have been uttered from this rostrum. Today we can afford that. They are a sign not of weakness, but, on the contrary, of recuperating strength and health. They are a confirmation that we are moving along the proper road and will serve to remove the barriers from our path.

Our Plenum will undoubtedly meet with further manifestations of hostility, and especially of subversive propaganda, from our opponents. This is understandable. The 13th Plenum is making our Party, and therefore Socialism in Poland, stronger. Hence, it would be senseless to expect that our opponents would applaud. The louder and more aggressively they attack us, the more they will show that they have been hurt, that they are alarmed, that their successive machinations and schemes are falling apart.

Speculation on the alleged rifts and conflicts within our Party has proved wholly groundless. The unity of aims and faithfulness to the line of the 9th Congress have found empathetic confirmation at this Plenum. This is a Leninist requirement and an evident order of the day.

Things are still difficult—and will not for a long time be easy. But the horizon is broadening and the perspective is becoming longer. During the meeting in the Baildon Steelworks, a speaker said figuratively that the time had come to "get one's second wind in the work for socialist renewal". The conclusion of the Central Committee debates has been a strong impulse in this direction. They have simultaneously contributed valuable material for the report-back and election campaign in the Party and for the nationwide celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland.

The high ideological temperature and at the same time the matter-of-fact climate of the 13th Plenum leads to the conclusion that its resolutions will be carried out, point by point fully and precisely.

That is how it should be. That is how it must be.

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1. **Zbigniew Żaluski** (1926–1978). Polish army colonel and writer who consistently defended the patriotic motives of those who participated in Polish national insurrections and also the value of military deeds, presenting such events in a light wholly different from what was officially taught at the time. Żaluski's books, particularly those dealing with the Second World War, have won a wide readership in Poland.
2. **Lublin beginnings**. A term signifying the first months of People's Poland in 1944, when the capital of the first liberated territory was Lublin.
3. **Work as slowly as a tortoise**. The illegal groupings in Poland opposed to the socialist state at the turn of 1982 and 1983 called for work to be performed as slowly as possible. Such senseless and, in effect, seditious slogans were openly presented, though they were clearly contrary to the general national interest.
4. *Nowe Drogi*. The theoretical, political monthly magazine of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, published in Warsaw since 1947.
5. *Trybuna Ludu*. The daily newspaper of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, published in Warsaw since 1948. Approx. circulation 1.5 million.
6. **Man of Iron**. The title of a Polish feature film directed by Andrzej Wajda which was awarded the Golden Palm at the 1981 Cannes Film Festival. The film was made in the turbulent period at the turn of 1980 and 1981 and is a biased and unsuccessful attempt to describe the Polish social and political climate prior to August 1980.
7. **Fighting Youth Union (ŻWM)**. An underground youth organization established in 1943 on the initiative of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR). Its three lines of activity were: armed struggle against the Nazi occupying forces, ideological and educational measures, and publishing. In 1948 it was one of several youth organizations which merged to form the Polish Youth Union (ŻMP).
8. **Polish Youth Union (ŻMP)**. A mass youth organization of a left-wing, revolutionary character, established at the 1948 merger congress of youth organizations held in Wrocław. Its programme was that of implementing the basic ideological and political tenets of the Polish United Workers' Party among the younger generation. It was disbanded in 1956. Two organizations were formed in its place: The Union of Socialist Youth and the Union of Rural Youth.
9. **Central Industrial District (COP)**. This was a whole system of heavy industry investments commenced in 1936 in the most backward and overpopulated regions of central Poland. Many of these factories served the needs of the defence industry.

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Address at a Celebratory Session of the *Sejm* on the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic 21 July 1984

Forty years ago the hour of liberation struck for Poland. The Manifesto of the Polish National Liberation Committee proclaimed a time of hope and opportunity.

For Poland, the 20th century opened in the darkness of thralldom and social injustice. It resounded with the rattle of fetters, the shots fired on the barricades of the 1905 Revolution, and the songs of the Legions, the *Internationale*, and the *Warszawianka* [Song of Warsaw], the *When the Nation went into battle* . . .¹ and the *Red Banner*. It saw the rebirth of the Polish State and yet another downfall.

Poland was reborn for the second time. Like the Nike of the Warsaw monument, by summoning the remnants of her strength, Poland "distinguished herself by her independence".

Today, no one any longer deliberates whether Poland should exist. The "seasonal state" and the "burning frontier" exist no more. Such is the measure of our success. Such is our greatest achievement.

Our nation never succumbed. It proved its patriotic will, fortitude and vitality. Though weakened by the blood shed in untold acts of terror, though looted and devastated, the country mustered enormous effort. Its military formations, the fourth largest among the forces of the anti-Nazi coalition, fought on all the war fronts. The Polish People's Army, created on Soviet soil, set out on the shortest route home, which led through untold battles, Berlin and finally to the River Elbe.

That victory, the tragic experience of the entire nation embraced the heroism of soldiers and partisans, the insurgents and the resistance movement fighters who fought, suffered and died for Poland. Theirs is the homage, the eternal, undying memory.

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That victory embraced the martyrdom of the prisoners in Nazi death camps and torture chambers, of the prisoners of war, of the people driven out of their homes into forced labour.

That victory embraced the lives of the six hundred thousand Soviet troops who fell on Polish soil—a number greater than in the struggle for the liberation of any other Nazi-occupied country.

The war generation knows full well the burden of past years. The ruins of towns, the villages turned to ashes, the harvest reaped by tuberculosis, the cold and the hunger of the first post-war winters, the sometimes superhuman efforts of those who, wearing white and red armbands as their only uniform and living on a slice of black bread, laid the foundations of democracy, defending the just and independent Homeland.

Millions who participated in and witnessed that revolution are living among us this very day. They will not be talked into the belief that it was an “imported” revolution. They assumed control of the country by themselves. It was they who redistributed the feudal land and took over and started up the destroyed factories. Though they did not know whether they would live to see another day, they fulfilled their duty to the working people, whose sons they were and whom they served.

The self-sacrifice of the plenipotentiaries of the Polish National Liberation Committee and of the Provisional Government,² members of the Polish Workers' Party, democratic front activists, village and province administrators, members of factory and land-estate councils, soldiers and militiamen, veteran settlers and pioneers of the Recovered Territories is today an indelible chapter in the history books. Reactionary falsehoods try in vain to gloss this over.

When our political opponents resorted to fratricidal forms of confrontation, a heavy toll of human lives was the result. We have no intention of oversimplifying the drama of those years. And there were also, particularly later on, errors and wrongdoings on our part. But the essential fact of the struggle for the victory of the revolution must not be underrated.

The need for radical changes that had been mounting for years stemmed from the class contradictions existing within the nation. They emerged as early as the previous century. It is in the struggle of the Polish revolutionaries that people's, socialist Poland finds its lineage and validity.

It incorporated two strands of Polish history: the striving for national liberation and the will for “social revolution”. Consequently, the basic classes—the workers and the peasants—gained high social standing and civic status. Their alliance is the core of the political system of our State.

This spells out a special responsibility and a great duty, at the same time. Neither the landed nobility nor the bourgeoisie could measure up to them. Today, the affairs of the nation are, above all, in the hands of the working

class. In these 40 years it has given ample evidence of its patriotism and self-sacrifice. The future of Poland depends on its actions and attitudes.

In the shaping of revolutionary awareness, a great role was played by the most enlightened and progressive part of the intelligentsia. For that, everlasting credit must be given. From this patriotic, rationalistic trend descended the many who eventually drew closer to socialist ideas, "fell in step" with the revolution and went on to make a valuable contribution to the development of reborn Poland.

From the very earliest days of Poland's new statehood, the broad, popular, democratic front founded upon the initiative of the communists saw the socialists, leftist peasants and genuine forces of Polish democracy standing alongside them. This alliance has passed the test of time and has been welded solid throughout the past 40 years.

An outstanding personal contribution to the building of People's Poland was made by the late Władysław Gomułka and by Bolesław Bierut, Karol Świerczewski, Zygmunt Berling, Aleksander Zawadzki, Marian Spychalski, Władysław Kowalski, Bolesław Drobner, Wincenty Rzymowski, Jan Dembowski, Czesław Wycech, Stanisław Kulczyński, Józef Niećko, Kazimierz Rusinek and many, many others.

People's Poland is heir to the nation's history, its over 100-year-long statehood. We cherish all that is lasting, valuable and patriotic. This also includes those people who in the years of the Second Republic³ patiently healed the wounds left by the partitions, built the foundations of independent statehood, organized Polish schools, developed Poland's culture and created her material substance.

However, balance and veracity must be maintained when making evaluations. Our adversaries reach for their comparisons into the pre-war period. Wishing to discredit the achievements of People's Poland they try, in defiance of widely accepted facts, to present pre-war Poland as a democratic, just country, almost a land of milk and honey. In fact, however, it was a country controlled by foreign capital, a country of class exploitation, social injustice, human poverty and suffering.

The dozens of deaths in the wake of police charges in the villages and towns of southern Poland alone cannot be struck from memory, the hundreds dead and more than a thousand wounded in the streets of Warsaw during the May 1926 *coup d'état*,⁴ the mass "pacification operations", the torture place at Bereza,⁵ the brutality of *Defa*,⁶ According to the last pre-war yearbook of the Main Statistical Office, in 1937 thirty-five thousand persons were convicted for "offences against the authorities and government offices", including as many as 2,945 persons sentenced for so-called "crimes against the State". Contempt of Parliament, the Brześć trial,⁷ the pogroms of Myślenice, Łódź Bałuty, Warsaw's Annopol, the unemployment, the millions of "redundant" hands and minds cannot be passed over in silence.

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That did not disturb the flexible conscience of many authorities of that time. All they had to say was simply: "the law is the law". The class barriers, inequalities and contrasts were regarded as a natural state of affairs.

Much is being said today on the gap distancing us from other countries. But we were lagging incomparably farther behind in 1944. Let those who evaluate us in such a derogatory manner be honest enough to compare the Poland of today with what People's Poland started off with in 1945.

We have no desire to outbid anyone. But the facts cannot be denied. The loss to the national estate in Poland caused by the war was 25 times greater than in France and 47 times greater than in Britain.

Against this background, the achievements of our 40 years are enormous and unquestionable. No other political, social or economic system would have been able to overcome such appalling devastation any faster or more effectively than the popular regime in Poland. What is more, today we have the right to be proud that through the efforts of the entire nation, Poland has become, in the course of one single generation, an industrialized and urbanized country.

The post-war development was based on profound changes in the social system: the land reform and the nationalization of industry, banks and transport. An accelerated growth of economic potential and an essential reconstruction of the economy followed. Since 1946, industrial output has increased forty-fold. The national product has grown ten-fold.

Between 1946 and 1983 the urban population of Poland increased by nearly 14 million, including 5.6 million people who migrated from the villages. Twenty-two million Poles moved into new homes. The essential progress in the communal infrastructure was achieved. There are 2.5 times more hospital beds. The sanatoria can accommodate forty times more people, the number of nurses has increased 28 times and that of workplace physicians sixty times. The provision of educational facilities has doubled. New forms of welfare services, as yet unknown in considerably richer countries, like workers' holidays, summer camps for children and young people have been established on a massive scale.

The four decades of change have affected not only the material sphere. They have been accompanied by a historic social advancement for workers and peasants. The structure of society has changed essentially. Workers and their families account for half of the nation. Profound changes have taken place in Polish villages. The intelligentsia, in comparison with the pre-war period, has increased many-fold.

A historic, political and cultural breakthrough has been made. It is all the greater since it was begun in highly adverse circumstances. In the first year after the war a bare forty thousand persons boasted higher education and about a hundred thousand people—secondary education, while there were millions of illiterates. It was ironically doubted whether the popular regime

could measure up to the tasks of the educational revolution, since its own level of education was not very high.

Today, every fourth adult citizen has secondary education. About one and a half million people have university degrees. Numerous new academic centres have been established. At present, in Kraków alone, there are more academic teachers and students than there were in the whole of Poland in 1938. The number of people who graduate from universities each year equals the total number of graduates of the whole inter-war period.

In the years of People's Poland science and technology have registered valuable achievements. The methods developed for the extraction of hard and brown coal, sulphur and copper ore and the production of aluminium oxide have proved world leaders. Achievements in agro-biology, especially in the field of horticulture, are considerable. Scientists and engineers have distinguished themselves with such achievements as constructing several types of modern ships and large-dimension bearings, and the successful design of aircraft for use in agriculture and training. Polish schools of mathematics, theoretical mechanics and elementary particle physics have been developed. Enormous progress has been made in epidemiology, orthopaedics and ophthalmology. Worth stressing also are the results of advances in linguistics, lexicography and history—especially research into the beginnings of the Polish state. This is just a fraction of the achievements of Polish science and technology.

Developments in national culture stem directly from the years of People's Poland. Many valuable works of prose and poetry and journalism have been created. The excellence of our theatrical productions, the Polish school of film-making, the success of Polish musicians, our poster art, sculpture, painting, graphic art and song and dance ensembles are known throughout the world.

It is true that there are not enough books today. Yet, what else, if not the policy of the people's State, has provoked the "hunger for books"? Polish readers have become acquainted with the most outstanding works of classical and contemporary world literature. Today, literary first works are printed in a greater number of copies than the works of acknowledged writers in the inter-war period. In the most recent, so painfully difficult three years alone, the public libraries have acquired 12 million volumes, corresponding to the total stock held by libraries in 1937.

For whole centuries, it used to be "in Poland anything goes", as the old saying has it. The lesson of the past is that democracy without duty, discipline and responsibility leads straight to anarchy and chaos. On the other hand, authority exercised without the active participation of the working people isolates itself, sinking into illegality and arrogance. We have experienced quite a lot of both.

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result of extortion by a "wicked tyrant". It is not a safety valve for venting social passions; it is a turbine they should propel.

Mastering the skills for operating democracy is a difficult and long term process. No decree can confer them overnight. It is, however, possible and necessary to create democratic mechanisms and habits.

The 9th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party declared itself in favour of this road. We shall follow it with perseverance. The practice of consultation, constant and direct contact with society, will not be a passing fashion. It must become our second nature. It must become an irreversible feature of our political reality.

The participation of the working people in government and management, and the widening of spheres of social activity are the most propitious school of socialist democracy.

Workers' self-managing bodies are its significant component. Today, the economic ideas of the popular regime are being implemented by a hundred and thirty thousand members of workers' councils—the joint-managers of workplaces. Workers' self-management is a legal and organizational embodiment of the principle of co-responsibility of the working class for the affairs of their own work establishments and, at the same time, for the entire economy. The role and activity of the self-managing bodies thus conceived has and will have the total support of the Party and the Government.

A new, class-oriented trade union movement is developing. Its organizational forms are being consolidated. The new unions are strengthening their status among the working class, in the social and economic life of the country. They display concern for the multiplication of the nation's material goods and their just distribution, in keeping with the socialist principle: to everyone according to his work. The present process of establishing a consolidated representation of the new trade union movement is conducive to strength and a lasting future.

The expanding practice of co-operative partnership of trade unionists with representatives of State and economic administration is contributing increasingly effectively to the realization of the working people's interests and is an important component in strengthening socialist Poland.

The process of democratization can be effectively deepened only when accompanied by a parallel growth of the State's strength and authority. The apparatus it has shaped over a forty-year period has considerable merits.

The soldiers of the people's Polish Army, officers of the Civic Militia and Security Service are carrying out their duties well. All of them, especially in the most recent years, have effectively defended the firm principles of the Polish People's Republic.

One purpose we have set ourselves is the further qualitative improvement in the functioning of the State administration. The Code of Duties of Civil Servants, and the list of citizens' rights and the duties of officials in

Government offices, will serve this end. These documents come into force as of tomorrow.

There are various—and some even flagrant—contradictions in Poland. It is difficult to achieve unity on all issues. We wish to achieve what is possible and feasible—in our conditions, to rally around the program of national reconciliation all those citizens for whom the welfare of their socialist homeland is the supreme goal. We have made no small progress in this respect.

We have lived through a trouble-fraught period, with many painful experiences, resentments and perplexities. What we wish to do is to separate what is honest, even if enmeshed in doubt, from what is harmful and dangerous to Poland. This is the essence of national conciliation. This is its goal.

Conciliation must become a factor strengthening Poland. This is the sole feasible level on which the quite natural differences of opinion within society can be reconciled with the overriding interests of the State. The Patriotic Movement for National Revival is playing an increasingly significant role in this respect.

We did not discover the need for national conciliation only four years ago. It has been the essence of the Party's strategy since the early moments of existence of the people's State. The forms change, but the idea, the content remains unchanged. The Patriotic Movement for National Revival has inherited the State's long tradition of fruitful co-operation of Party members with people of no party affiliation, people of various walks of life, generations and persuasions.

The recent elections to people's councils constituted a further step along the road to national conciliation. They were an expression of today's already predominant trend—to have Polish affairs settled in a climate of patience and trust, not of disruptive tension. They again proved that society desires order and undisturbed work.

As the result of the elections, over a million citizens have been brought into the system of local government. Soon after the elections to self-governing bodies in local areas this number will grow still further. The Act of Parliament in this respect sets up a new socio-political category. It endows councillors and self-government representatives with broad powers. We want them to use those powers effectively and actively.

Taking into consideration the progress made in political and economic stabilization, the Polish United Workers' Party, together with the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party and the other signatories of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival, declare themselves in favour of holding elections to the *Sejm* of the Polish People's Republic in 1985. We want the new electoral law to be enriched with the experience gained in the elections to people's councils, so that the achievements of socialist parliamentarianism may be strengthened. In its eighth term of office, the *Sejm* has made a lasting and

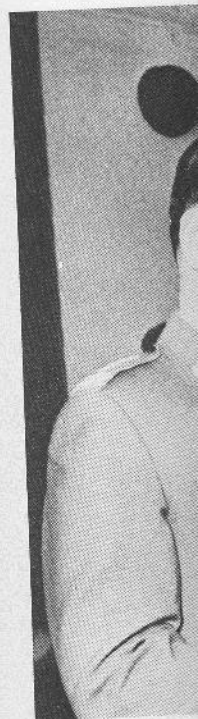


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PLATE 60. July 1982. At a meeting with the "Silver Eleven" Polish national team in the World Soccer Championships, "Espana-82". Władysław Zmuda, the team captain, hands Wojciech Jaruzelski a commemorative football.



PLATE 61. August 1982. Taking a walk with the Soviet leadership during a working meeting in Crimea. From left to right: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Leonid Brezhnev and, in the second row, Andrei Gromyko, Józef Czyrek (Polish United Workers' Party secretary) and Konstantin Chernenko.



PLATE 62. Wojciech Jaruzelski is known for his gallant approach to the ladies.



PLATE 63. Budapest 1982. Accompanied by Janos Kadar and Gyorgy Lazar during an official visit to Hungary.



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PLATE 64. Among a group of eminent Polish writers and artists. Halina Auderska, president of the Polish Writers Union stands next to Wojciech Jaruzelski, slightly to the rear.

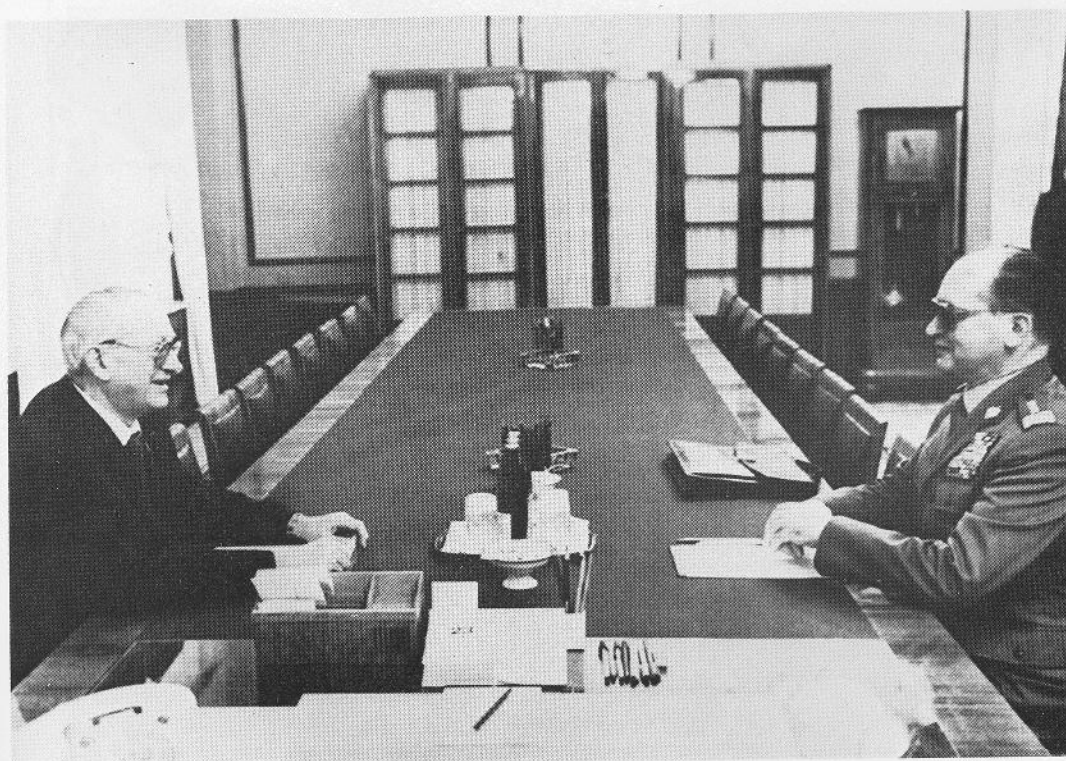


PLATE 65. December 1982. A meeting with Yuri Andropov during a visit to Moscow.



PLATE 66. May 1983. There was even time for a laugh during the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival. To the right of Wojciech Jaruzelski, in order: Professor Henryk Jabłoński (Chairman of the Council of State) and Roman Malinowski (Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the United Peasant Party Central Board).



PLATE 67. June 1983. Among disabled children in the Teaching and Education Centre at Chylice.



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PLATE 68. June 1983. Wawel Castle in Kraków. The second of the
two meetings with Pope John Paul II during the latter's pilgrimage
to Poland.



PLATE 69. July 1983. The Oliwia hall in Gdańsk, crowded with participants in the First
National Consultative Meeting of young Polish United Workers' Party activists.

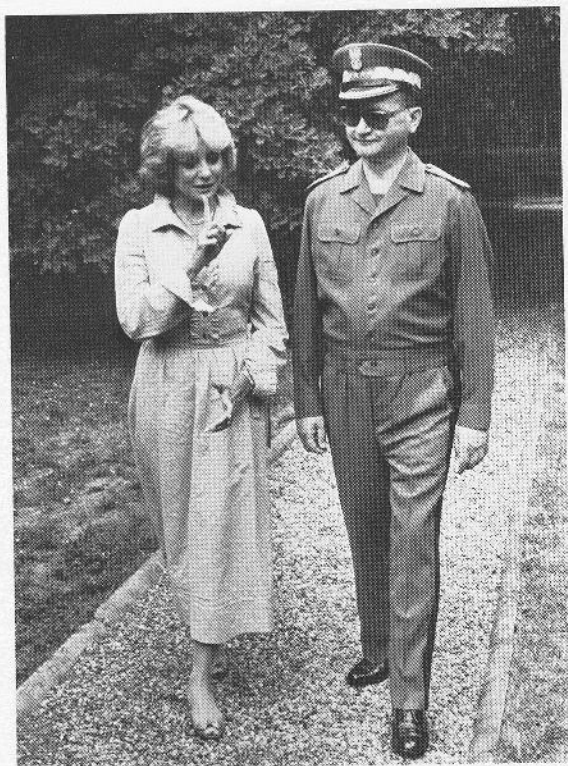


PLATE 70. July 1983. Walking in the Government office gardens with Barbara Walters, the American ABC TV-network personality, prior to granting her a TV interview.



PLATE 71. July 1983. Immediately following the self-disbanding of WRON, the Military Council for National Salvation. The final photo of the Council.

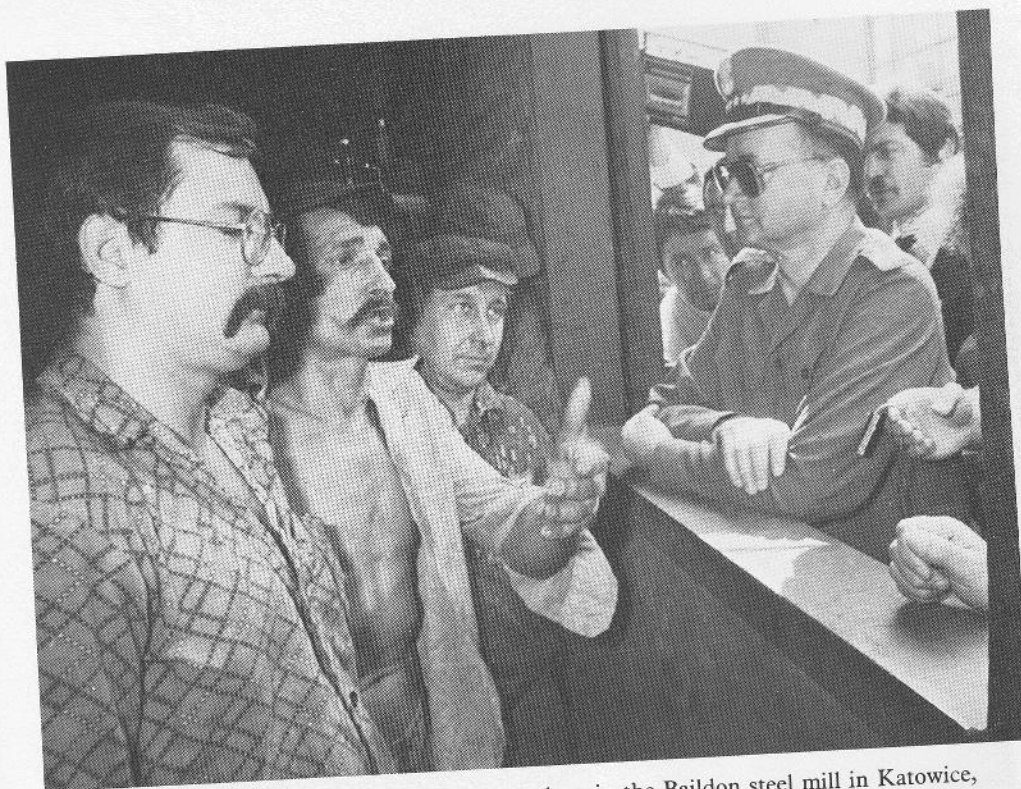


PLATE 72. August 1983. Talking to the workers in the Baildon steel mill in Katowice, during a break in a meeting with representatives of the Foundry Workers Trade Union Federation.



PLATE 73. December 1983. With Krzysztof Penderecki, the world-famous Polish composer, after decorating him with the Order of the Banner of Labour, First Class, on the composer's 50th birthday.



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PLATE 74. Meeting Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary-General of the Portuguese Communist Party, during the latter's official visit to Warsaw.



PLATE 75. February 1984. Talking to Javier Perez de Cuellar during a visit to Warsaw.



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PLATE 76. March 1984. Signing autographs during a break in the debates of the National Conference of Polish United Workers' Party Delegates. First from left, Party Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski; passing behind, Internal Affairs Minister General Czesław Kiszczak.



PLATE 77. With Todor Zhivkov during the latter's official visit to Poland.



PLATE 78. 21 July 1984. Wojciech Jaruzelski addresses a celebratory session of Parliament on the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of Poland.



PLATE 79. October 1984. Walking with Andreas Papandreu on Wawel Hill in Kraków during his official visit to Poland. The former castle of the Polish kings is visible in the background.

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PLATE 80. November 1984. Congratulating foundry worker Alfred Miodowicz on his election to the post of President of the National Trades Unions Agreement, during a meeting of Party and Government leadership with Polish union leaders.



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PLATE 81. December 1984. With Giulio Andreotti during his official visit to Poland.



PLATE 82. January 1985. Talking to workers while visiting the K-2 section of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk.

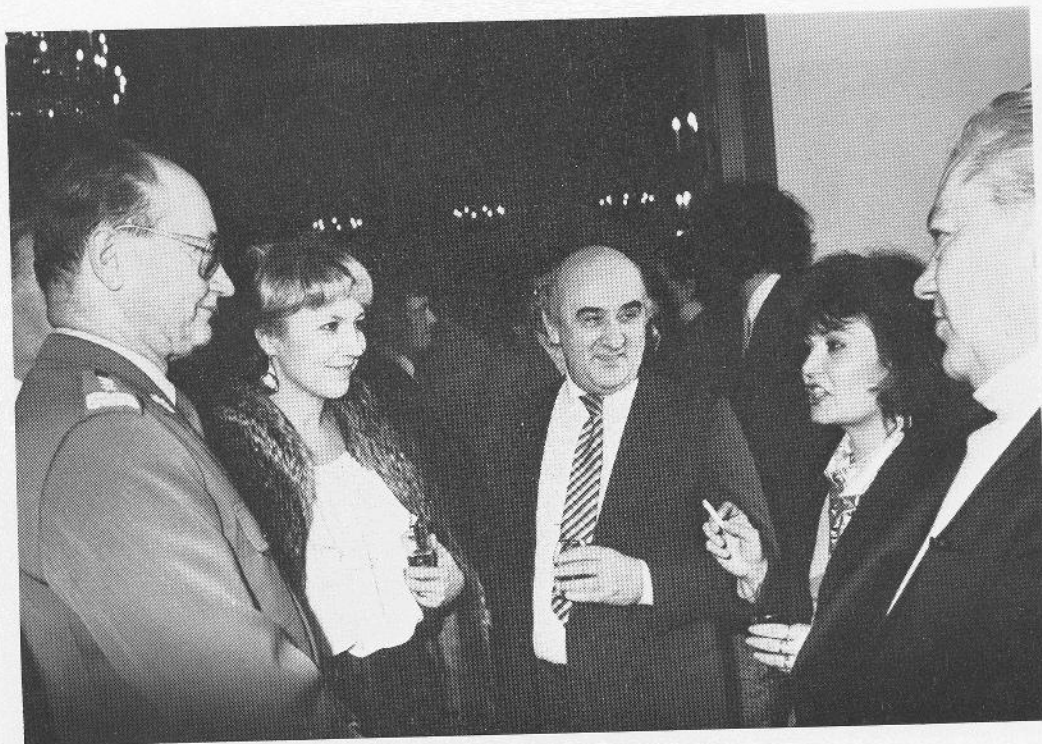


PLATE 83. A meeting of Government members with actors and film directors.

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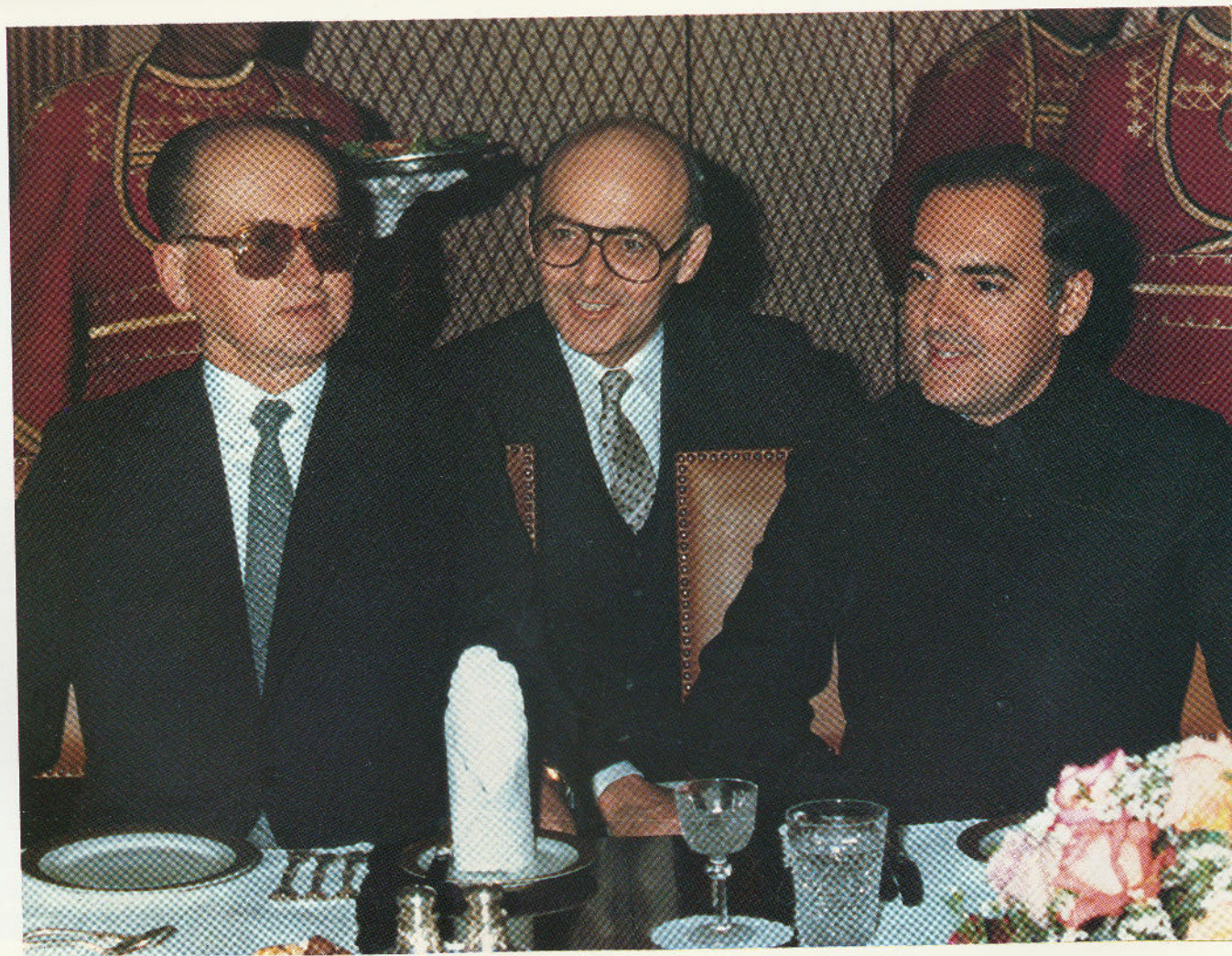


PLATE 84. February 1985. With Rajiv Gandhi during an official visit to India.

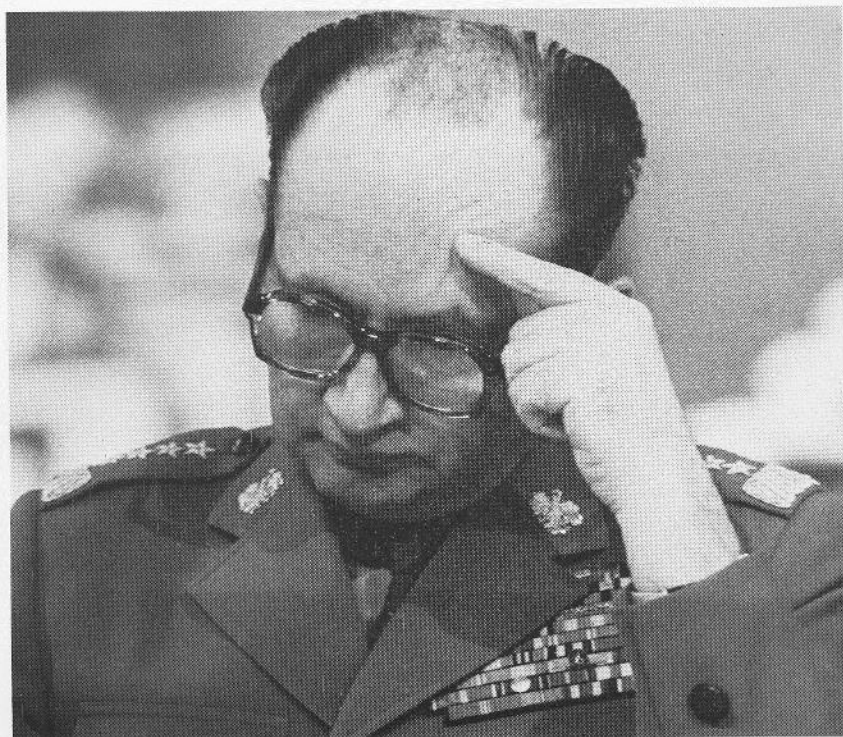


PLATE 85. A moment for reflection during a break in a meeting of the Polish United Workers' Party Political Bureau.



PLATE 86. Moscow, March 1985. Wojciech Jaruzelski presents expressions of condolence to Mikhail Gorbachov after the death of Konstantin Chernenko.



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PLATE 87. A meeting with Helmut Kohl in Moscow, March 1985.



PLATE 88. April 1985. During talks with Sir Geoffrey Howe while he was on an official visit to Poland.



PLATE 89. Warsaw, 26 April 1985. A few moments after the prolongation of the Warsaw Treaty, with the leaders of the European Socialist Commonwealth.



PLATE 90. Meeting between General W. Jaruzelski and Robert Maxwell 26 May 1985.

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valuable contribution towards this end. Its enormous legislative effort has created the legal structure for socialist renewal.

The Amnesty Act passed by the House today on the initiative of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival—the eleventh such act in the history of the Polish People's Republic—is an expression of humanitarianism and, at the same time, a testimony to the strength of the people's State. But, above all, it proves that the situation in the country is ripe for such a step to be taken.

This amnesty is very broad in scope. It encompasses both a considerable number of those who have committed less dangerous, common offences as well as those who have committed acts against the constitutional order. Among the latter are also people confused and led astray by the despicable activities of subversive centres and agencies.

The House's decision is an act of good will. It offers an opportunity to return to a normal life. However, it does not alter the severity of our political evaluation of anti-State activities. Let us recall the end of 1981, with the spectre of peril, the atmosphere of looming disaster; what was happening then in the economy and on the market; what the food supply situation was then, and the supply of fuel and practically all the goods a civilized man needs.

Public tranquillity, the rule of law, a sense of security are priceless assets. Thus there will be no leniency for those who try to inflame emotions and violate the laws of the socialist State. It should be borne very clearly in mind that here, as in any other country, repeated delinquency will be punished with extra severity.

There cannot and will not be a return to anarchy.

Poland at loggerheads with her neighbours, entangled in "exotic alliances", banking naively on the good will of the Western powers, is a thing of the far distant past. Today, Poland's place is unambiguously and enduringly defined. Her international position depends directly in her significance in the socialist community. Our national interests are all on one side—on the side of the peaceful co-existence of nations. A strong, stable, credible Poland is not just what we ourselves want; it is a broader, all-European question. The worse things are in Poland—the worse for peace in Europe. The more durable the peace—the more secure is Poland.

It is not to Providence that we owe forty years of secure existence. They have been the result of a far-sighted choice inspired by the Party at the threshold of our third independence. They are the result of opting for Socialism.

To live among friends, to enjoy their joint guarantees and to be at the same time an underwriter of the post-war territorial and political order in Europe—this is the essence of the Polish *raison d'état*.

The foundation of our foreign and defence policies is our unshakeable alliance and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union. Both past history and the present day confirm its importance for the Polish nation.

We aim at further developing and consolidating our internationalist bonds with all the countries of the socialist community. They have passed the test of the entire past forty-year period. They have been invaluable in the recent years when Poland faced particular predicaments. They bring the fruits of advantageous economic, scientific and cultural co-operation.

The unity of the socialist countries is our common, historic achievement. For the first time in history we enjoy a durable political and military shield. Our borders are unfailingly guarded by the Polish Army, the might of the Soviet Army and the united armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty. This is an effective means against insane designs to revise the results of World War II.

Home-bred strategists have devised and are still devising various naive theories, coffee-house programmes and wishful thinking about Poland. Consecutive absurd ideas are buried every few years. Only one "idea" keeps persevering and winning—that of People's Poland and her present historically just frontiers. It is just as irreversible a fact of European reality as the fact of the coalition victory over fascism. The immutable stand taken by the Soviet Union, which has again been unequivocally confirmed, is fully in accord with the vital interests of socialist Poland.

Observance of the Yalta and Potsdam decisions, as well as the international agreements of the 1970, sealed by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is a pre-condition for peace on our continent and, by the same token, for Poland's security. Today, anyone who speaks out against these principles is playing with fire and aligning himself with the enemies of our country.

The West is not short of politicians pursuing hopeless attempts to revise history, also at the expense of our country. Our response is brief: apart from Poland, and beside Poland, no-one shall settle our affairs. Neither by trick nor by force shall Poland let itself be forced away from the borders along the Oder and the Baltic.

The return to the ancient land of the Piast dynasty⁸ and its full integration with the Motherland is a historic victory for the Polish nation. There are very few families today whose background does not embrace the whole of contemporary Poland—a brother in Lublin, another one in Gorzów, parents in Wrocław, children in Elk or Sieradz. People on the other side of the Elbe who have suddenly discovered over a million-strong "German minority" in Poland could equally well have discovered inhabitants on the Moon.

A crucial premise for peace in Europe is to render impossible any re-emergence of pan-German expansionism, revived under the pretext of "unification". This is a common duty of all nations which directly or indirectly suffered from the wars unleashed by German imperialism.

With the September 1939 tragedy and the genesis of the Nazi attack on Poland still vivid in memory, we have to view the present policy of West Germany in its full historical context and consider, above all, the facts.

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The facts are that the Federal Republic, year by year departs further from the military limitations set by the victorious war-time coalition. It tramples even on its own obligations by aspiring to the right to manufacture and possess strategic bombers as well as medium and long-range missiles. It has turned its own territory into the largest stockpile of American nuclear missiles on our continent. It has become involved in the confrontational, imperialist policy of the United States. At present, this constitutes the essence and the gravity of the danger.

The recent, numerous revisionist acts and statements lead to the conclusion that the conflict between revanchist and co-existence tendencies has not yet been resolved in the Federal Republic. The current of anti-Polish revisionism includes not only "compatriot organizations" but also Catholic Church circles which still support the fiction of pre-war diocesan divisions.

This is not the only point from which we view the reality of the Federal Republic, however. In West German society we also see circles and forces which recognize European realities. Only by following this road could the Federal Republic of Germany make a real contribution to the improvement of East-West relations.

This would also favour bilateral relations, expanding contacts and constructive, mutually beneficial co-operation between us.

Over the past forty years Poland has been an active participant in international life. We maintain diplomatic relations with one hundred and twenty-seven states. Numerous Polish initiatives have won international acclaim: the Rapacki and Gomulka plans, the idea of preparing societies for life in peace, the contribution to the codification of the rights of the child, the concept of economic confidence-building measures, activity in international commissions in Korea, Indochina and Nigeria. Soldiers of the Polish Army are even today serving in the Middle East. Poland was one of the initiators of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. She is participating actively in its follow-up stages. We take part in multilateral disarmament talks, in negotiations on the principles of economic co-operation, in the work of over a thousand international organizations.

From the very outset, People's Poland has been an ardent advocate of the liberation of nations from the imperialist, colonial yoke. We have invariably manifested this in the international forum.

Today, this strengthens our position in the contemporary anti-imperialist current. We have been met with understanding and sympathy. Our intention is to keep expanding our co-operation with the non-aligned and developing countries.

The Communist movement and the forces of the left are Poland's allies. They are the motor of the powerful anti-war movement. They rally millions of people in the struggle to preserve peace and to emerge from the blind alley of confrontation.

It was among European intellectuals that the idea was born to follow up the memorable Wroclaw congress of 1948 with the convening of the Second World Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of Peace. We would like it to take place soon in Warsaw—the city that like few others has earned its title of “the capital of peace”. It will be an honour for Poland to host the leading representatives of world science and culture. May the common voice of exhortation and warning once more resound from our so severely war-worn country.

American imperialism has launched yet another attempt to put a halt to progressive transformation of the contemporary world. Washington has decided to bury *détente*. To accept Washington's present point of view would mean that almost all American post-war presidents had made unforgivable errors in relations with the socialist countries. Only the present administration has discovered the “single, correct way”: the breaching of agreements, economic and food blackmail, trade restrictions and despicable propaganda. The United States has even ceased to reply to notes and memos addressed to Washington. And not only from Warsaw, at that.

This superpower super-arrogance goes hand in hand with the destruction of the existing achievements of co-operation. The “crusade” psychosis is blinding them. The day before yesterday it was Korea and the Dominican Republic; yesterday Vietnam; and today it is the mining of Nicaraguan ports, the invasion of Grenada, the bombing of Lebanon and the destruction of El Salvador. The question arises: What is going to happen tomorrow. What will this policy lead to?

We are celebrating our 40th anniversary in a tense, dangerous international situation. Only a short while ago it seemed that lasting peace was just around the corner, that the terrible lesson of before World War II had been understood by all. Alas, this is not so.

Special responsibility for the preservation of peace rests today with leaders, heads of Governments and political activists. Their role could become a subject of a United Nations initiative which would contribute considerably to the search for levels of dialogue and understanding.

The past decades of relations with the capitalist countries have brought Poland various experiences: good and bad. We wish to continue the good ones. The bad ones may serve as warnings.

Poland's recent “affair with the West” has left a deep and understandable trauma. Public opinion polls confirm this. Imperialism dealt its heaviest blow against Poland just when things were hardest for us. Carefully co-ordinated blows were supposed to force Poland to her knees.

Many were the compliments we heard from the West at the time when living on credit was the standard in Poland and socialist democracy was weak. We have heard little except insults and threats since we started to live on our own means and the process of democratization has been developing.

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We survived the economic blackmail first of all, thanks to the patriotic dedication of the working people of our country.

However, it would have been difficult for Poland to stand up to the pressure single-handedly, were it not for fraternal assistance from the Soviet Union and the good will of our socialist allies.

The infamous boycott is about to come to an end. But the memory of irresponsible partners such as the United States and France will remain much longer. We regret that the traditional, long-lasting bonds of sympathy between our nations have been put to such a painful test as a result of the stand taken by a few politicians.

The anti-Polish hullabaloo created by the US Government forced a number of Western countries to act not only against Poland, but ultimately also against their own interests. Other countries at least displayed common sense by not fully toeing the Atlantic line.

The total loss incurred by our economy because of the restrictions already amounts to thirteen billion dollars. This has affected the welfare of Polish families and delayed the surmounting of the crisis. We would have certainly gone farther and attained more, had it not been for these heavy losses. We have the right to expect that appropriate trade and financial arrangements will be provided to Poland to compensate for the losses incurred and ease the repayment of our debts.

We would rather not issue a second volume of the "White Book" or collect evidence of new, anti-Polish actions for use by historians. Our thirty-seven million-strong country has no intention of being isolated. It constitutes an integral part of the international community. We declare the will to improve our relations with all countries in a lasting manner. But this must be based on respect for the sovereignty of the Polish People's Republic, observance of the principle of non-interference in our internal affairs and honouring of obligations under existing contracts and agreements by both parties.

The socio-economic crisis in Poland has passed a turning point. Our people can afford some moderate, cautious optimism. We are halfway into the three-year plan. There are numerous indications that its basic provisions can be implemented even before 1985. A year ago this was only an aspiration. Today it is a feasible prognosis.

The time for groundless promises and pledges has passed. Our tasks must be tailored to match both what is necessary and what, under the present circumstances, is conceivable.

Poland is between the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow. Modern industrial enterprises exist which even highly advanced countries may envy, but there are quite a few plants which lag far behind. We produce our own optical fibres, but the horse drawn cart is still a common means of transportation. We have colour TV, but we sometimes have trouble in making decent hay-forks.

Some people are willing and able. Others are either unwilling or incapable. Average values are becoming the rule but they do not suffice today. And they will be even less acceptable in the future.

We are faced with the task of modernizing and reconstructing many of our factories; those which pollute the environment, which consume excessive amounts of energy and materials and are particularly arduous to work in. Poland is faced with the necessity to revise her plan of development, a task which in many respects matches the scale of complexity of the early years of industrialization.

The goals for socio-economic development were outlined by the 9th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. The *Sejm* resolutions accorded them legal validity.

Alternative forecasts of economic development for the years 1986-1990 will be submitted for consultation this year. The key decisions to be settled will include the growth rate of consumption, the level of present and future consumption, and the scope and forms of the national social welfare policy.

One thing is certain: there can be no return either to living beyond our means, or to the swinging investment policy of a self-appointed "great power".

Poland cannot totter when others are running, but neither must she lose her breath from exhaustion. Investment effort should be directed mainly to fields which ensure modernity and maximum effectiveness, and best serve to satisfy material needs and guarantee profitable exports.

Long term world economic forecasts indicate that success will become increasingly more difficult. The generation of energy, and extraction and importing of raw materials are and will be getting more expensive. Increasingly stringent requirements will have to be met if we are to sell at a profit and remain on the market.

The internal and external conditions of economic performance are changing. The scope and forms of participation in the international division of labour should be adapted to them. The recent summit of Member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was devoted to concerting the efforts of the socialist community. The decisions reached at the meeting were of strategic importance for the economic development of our countries. Together with her socialist friends, Poland will face up to the problems to be tackled at the new, advanced stage which lies ahead. We attach special importance to long term, all-round co-operation with the Soviet Union, based on the recently concluded agreement on co-operation in the economy, science and technology to the year 2000.

We are lagging behind in various fields of the economy. We lag behind many socialist countries in terms of net production, social discipline, economic feasibility and work organization.

Can we face up to the challenge of the future? History holds the answer. It

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has already been answered once. Watching documentary films of the early post-war years it frequently seems that Poland was setting out on a wild-goose chase. The present day, therefore, should be viewed through the eyes of those who forty years from now will be watching films about the 1980s.

Our trump cards for tomorrow include above all people with high qualifications, natural resources, arable land and impressive national wealth. However, the main route is through the improvement of planning and management mechanisms, scientific and technological progress and a persistent battle for efficiency.

We want a scrupulous and thrifty Poland. Things can be better and will get better if we put an end to wastage of energy, raw materials, and people's time and effort. When we master thinking in economic terms we will learn to use the same resources to produce more cheaply, simply and in greater quantity—without detriment to quality, appearance and reliability—when every additional zloty of income is the result of not only another drop of sweat but also of a moment of reflection, initiative and resourcefulness.

Our society is one of the youngest in Europe. People under thirty account for nearly half the nation. It is their duty to strengthen and develop the achievements of their fathers, to take the socialist Republic honourably into the 21st century.

Unlike their predecessors, they do not start from scratch. May they justly evaluate the achievements of their Homeland. Whoever belittles it today does not insult the authorities so much as the hard, long toil of millions of Poles, the dignity of the working people.

Former members of the Polish Youth Union, workers of the service for Poland⁹ brigades, the first volunteers for Nowa Huta,¹⁰ the participants in the epoch-making reconstruction of Warsaw and the development of the Western and Northern territories are already turning grey at the temples. In successive decades, generations of Poles left the marks of their collective effort on hundreds and thousands of construction sites. Each generation had their own legend, a romantic chapter in their biographies.

They did not ask what Poland would give them. They gave of themselves as much as they were able at the time. For the fate of an individual cannot be separated from the fate of the State and the entire society.

Not for the first time, complaints are being lodged against the young. However, when it came to a time of trial—and there were many of them—it was the young who set an example by their courage and self-sacrifice.

Zeal, courage and enthusiasm can be turned into diamonds, but also into ashes.¹¹

The 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, one of our greatest patriotic episodes, is approaching. We bow to the heroism of the insurgents, to the graves of the defenders of lost barricades, the nurses and messenger girls, the

youngest Polish soldiers. But this anniversary is also a time for political self-examination, a never ceasing lesson from history.

Who had sent those wonderful youngsters armed with "VIS" pistols against German "Tiger" tanks—and why? Who staked tens of thousands of young human lives and the fate of Poland's capital on one single card? And why?

These are, unfortunately, contemporary analogies as well. Who and with what purpose is deluding today's youth? Who is making them believe that "nothing will ever succeed here", that Polish prospects are bleak, that all one can do is to battle hopelessly with the dullness of daily life?

They are cheating. Poland survives and develops. But its shape will reflect "the manner of rearing the Republic's youth".

At the turn of the century Poland will have a population of over forty million. For the "young Poland" of today thousands of schools have already to be built, larger crops harvested, modern jobs created and houses erected.

In this sense, for us, the 21st century has already begun.

The basic value of Socialism and its most lasting premise is socially useful human toil and the just distribution of its fruits. The achievements of past years stemmed from the creative work of the hands and minds of millions of workers, peasants and members of the intelligentsia. Today, despite all sorts of worries and difficulties, Poland is once again humming with activity.

The political, social and economic biography of People's Poland should be evaluated within a comprehensive historical context. We must learn to recognize continuity in change. To comprehend the process of continual synthesis of what has been verified and rejection of what has failed is the yardstick of political common sense and civic responsibility.

On the anniversary of the July Manifesto we look back upon the years of people's statehood in its full, complex shape. It was and is the workers' and peasants' own first home, a historic monument to the Party. It is a collective deed, a grand, magnificent, national achievement.

With homage we today recall those who did not live to see our holiday.

We recall the veterans of toil and struggle, those who honourably and honestly worked all their lives in People's Poland and have gone into well deserved, though often rather modest, retirement.

We recall the "nameless heroes" of our people's State, the so-called "common people", thanks to whose patriotic effort the State has thrived and developed.

We cordially greet the faithful, hard-working sons of this good soil, their mothers, all Polish women.

Poland has only one history and only one place—between the Bug and the Oder Rivers, the Tatra Mountains and the Baltic Sea. On this 40th anniversary of the socialist Homeland let us together look to the future.

The Polish People's Republic is entering the fifth decade of its history.

Notes

1. "When the nation" song composed around 1918.
2. **Provisional Government** of the Polish Republic.
3. **Second Republic**. First Republic ceased to exist in 1918, took the official name of the Second Republic.
4. **May 1926 coup** d'état led by J. Pilsudski on 12-14 May.
5. **Bereza**—Bereza Kartuska, the *sanacja* regime.
6. **Defa**. Abbreviation of the left-wing groupings.
7. **the Brzesce trial**. Parliamentary opposition.
8. **the Piast dynasty**. Progenitor, Piast the Great, of Poland from 9th century.
9. **Service for Poland**. Existed between 1918 and 1920, unions to prepare for the future.
10. **Nowa Huta**. Symbol of the rapid development of the city in 1954. One of the new cities.
11. "Ashes and embers" 1948 by an outstanding Polish intellectual and later joined the Polish intelligentsia during World War II.

Notes

1. "When the nation went into battle..." The first words of a Polish revolutionary peasant's song composed around 1831 by Gustaw Ehrenberg.
2. **Provisional Government.** On 31 December 1944 the National Council decreed that the Polish Committee of National Liberation would become the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic.
3. **Second Republic.** A commonly used term for the Polish state between 1918 and 1939. The First Republic ceased to exist in 1795, when Poland was partitioned. The Polish state, reborn in 1918, took the official name of Polish Republic (*Rzeczpospolita Polska*).
4. **May 1926 coup d'état.** The military *coup d'état* of a right-wing character staged by Józef Piłsudski on 12–14 May 1926 against the government of Wincenty Witos. This opened the period of the so-called *sanacja* regime. More than 200 persons were killed and some 1000 wounded during the fighting.
5. **Bereza—Bereza Kartuska.** This was a concentration camp for political prisoners set up by the *sanacja* regime for its political opponents.
6. **Defa.** Abbreviation of *Defensywa*, secret political arm of the police, which harshly victimized left-wing groupings in the inter-war period.
7. **the Brześć trial.** This was a political trial, by the government, of the leaders of the Parliamentary opposition, who were imprisoned in the Brześć fortress. It aroused widespread indignation and protest throughout the whole nation.
8. **the Piast dynasty.** Poland's first dynasty, the name of which is taken from the legendary progenitor, Piast. The first historically well-known member of the Piasts was Mieszko I. Prince of Poland from 920 to 960. The dynasty became extinct in 1370 with the death of King Kazimierz the Great.
9. **Service for Poland (SP).** This was a general, mass organization of Polish youth which existed between 1948 and 1955. It was established under an initiative of the various youth unions to prepare young people for their future vocations and military service, and also to commit them to implementing the plan of rebuilding the country from the ruins of World War Two. Among other tasks, SP brigades were employed in the reconstruction of Warsaw.
10. **Nowa Huta.** A Kraków city suburb built from scratch after 1948. Nowa Huta has become a symbol of the rapid industrialization of the country during the six-year plan between 1948 and 1954. One of the country's largest metallurgical plants—the Lenin Steel Mill—is situated there.
11. **"Ashes and Diamonds."** The title of one of the most widely read Polish novels, written in 1948 by an outstanding Polish writer, Jerzy Andrzejewski (1909–1982). In his early years he associated himself with the catholic philosophy, but during the war years he moved to the left and later joined the PUPP. Eventually he left the Party ranks and became himself a symbol of Polish intelligentsia's dilemma. In *Ashes and Diamonds* the choice facing young Poles just after World War II is a tragic one: either to fall in with the new life or to perish.

An Interview with Robert Maxwell

26 May 1985

Wojciech Jaruzelski: May I say how glad I am to meet you, to be able to make your personal acquaintance. I have heard much about you, as a well-known politician, an influential member of the Labour Party and an eminent publisher.

Thank you for your interest in Poland's issues. I could justifiably say that, in a certain sense, my person is but a token of these issues.

I realize how much effort you personally have invested in making the arrangements for this publication. I have been informed of the meticulous attention you have given to the selection of the photographs. I must admit that, in a certain way, I see these as a rather depressing part of the book, for they remind me that I once was young. But that is a thing of the past. I do hope that the book will make the British reader better able to understand the problems of Poland. If it does so it will have served a useful purpose.

Once again let me welcome you warmly. I am glad to see you are well.

Robert Maxwell: May I thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your most generous comments on my efforts to publish this book and also in connection with my political and publishing activities. I am honoured by your agreement to meet me.

I am not guided only by journalistic curiosity. The reason I wished to meet you is, first, the respect and admiration I feel for you as a soldier and politician who has served his country most self-effacingly down the years, both in peace and war.

In recent years you were elected to the supreme authority and under your leadership a dangerous political and social situation in Poland has been surmounted. Had this not been done, it would have been a disaster not only for the Polish nation but, surely, for the whole of Europe. Perhaps even for the world.

For some time I have wanted to publish a book about you within the "Leaders of the World" series. The final stage of the work is now near.

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As to my questions, I would like to start with one of the most important. Is the problem of "Solidarity" a thing of the past in Polish political life? Would you agree with that statement?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Yes. That is the case.

Robert Maxwell: It seems that one of the crucial problems facing your country is the economy. In a nutshell—the reinstatement of balanced development.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: That is another point on which I must agree.

Robert Maxwell: I am very glad, for that is the subject to which I would like to devote a large part of our talk. I hope that this book will result in the English-speaking world understanding better what you have done for your country, and understanding that Poland has put the culminating point of the crisis behind her.

The time, I think, has arrived when your government should start being recognized as the one that was instrumental in overcoming the crisis problems. As I see it, this is a solid and durable government which should therefore be afforded some category of co-operation. Each country should develop economic co-operation and trade with Poland and offer you assistance and a fair and equitable opportunity to overcome the problems you still face.

The Western, and in particular the English-language, press has let loose a flood of comment and opinion concerning "Solidarity". But little is being said of the progress your government has registered in the process of clearing up the situation.

I am aware you shun publicity. You were not especially keen to agree to this publication. Allow me to make a personal remark. I quite sympathize with what you said about seeing those old photographs of yours, since I was born in the very same year as you. This is the first book in the West to be devoted to you. It will be distributed in newspaper, radio and TV offices, and among persons who influence politics and public opinion in Britain, the United States, Canada and elsewhere in the English-speaking world. They will obtain through it a better picture of the present Polish situation and also better information about you personally and about your government.

For example, the United States administration's attitude to you is very chilly. Yet, in the United States there is also a considerable interest in you personally. Thus, I think it will serve a useful purpose to bring information about this book to the attention of the American public.

Passing on now to the questions: may I make a suggestion? Since I have a good understanding of Polish it might save time if your replies were not translated. The way you speak your language is so splendid, so precise! I was born in Czechoslovakia, which gives me some command of the Slavic languages. Your staff will supply me with a detailed translation later on. Could you accept that, Prime Minister?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I certainly have confidence in your command of the Polish language. I am afraid it might prove tiring for you to hear replies given exclusively in Polish, but if you do not mind that, then of course it will permit better use to be made of our time.

I shall not deliberate extensively on individual issues, since many aspects of your questions relate to the substance of my various pronouncements which will be presented in the book itself.

You ask me whether I am alarmed by Poland's economic situation? There is surely no Prime Minister anywhere in the world who is entirely satisfied with his country's economic performance. In Poland's case the worry is more evident and obviously more justified. But it is much less than it was one, two and—even more so—three years ago.

You yourself said at the beginning that Poland's most difficult, most dangerous period is over. The national economy is gradually returning to the point of normalcy. There are many reasons for this, but among them the economic reform has played a substantive part.

Robert Maxwell: That is precisely what interests me most.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Our programme of economic reform is a particularly convincing evidence of our determination, of the uncompromising effort of the State and Party leadership, to overhaul the economy; and in particular, to introduce such mechanisms as would result in greater economic productivity and effectiveness.

The task of undertaking economic reform in our country was assumed by the Polish United Workers' Party. When we embarked upon the course of reform at the Ninth Party Congress in July 1981, the Polish United Workers' Party considered it imperative to have a strategic plan of national economic development. It also happened that implementation of the first stage of the reform took place almost simultaneously with the proclamation of martial law, that is, on the 1st of January 1982.

I do not wish to limit myself to the mere enumeration of facts. Future historians may well appreciate the unusual, indeed dramatic, circumstances in which we decided to take that step. The reform was initiated at a moment when our gross national product was slumping sharply, the economy was practically in a state of collapse, its basic framework had ceased to function and the market was bereft of merchandise. Add to that the economic restrictions imposed by the United States, which were designed to strike at our most sensitive economic areas. The result was a severe and sudden rupture of economic links with most Western countries. Imports from Western Europe fell by half, and by 80 per cent in the case of the United States. The avenues of co-operation, built up over many years, were ruined.

In such conditions, the reform could not display all its merits, nor can it do so even today. For all its mechanisms to function correctly, certain

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elementary conditions must exist: at a minimum these are the absolutely necessary supply of goods and raw materials, the functioning of a financial credits system, and normal economic co-operation with other countries. As I sometimes say, figuratively speaking, the reform is undernourished: it suffers from lack of oxygen; it is operating in highly unpropitious conditions.

This notwithstanding, its first effects are already visible. The gross national product grew rapidly in 1983 and 1984, reaching an annual increment of between 5 and 6 per cent. Total growth was some 12 per cent, and that is a lot for a country beset by so many painful problems. Industrial productivity has reached the pre-crisis level, that is of 1978-9. Probably labour productivity is the basic criterion of the effectiveness of the whole national economy.

Our national income is still lower by 15 per cent than the highest figure registered toward the end of the seventies. One has also to consider the fact that from 1978 to 1984 about two million children were born in Poland. Thus the global product is of necessity divided among a larger population than before.

May I be permitted to digress for a moment? We are experiencing an unusually inconvenient employment structure. The hard facts are that more children are being born, more people are entering their post-productive age, but the number of persons in the productive age category is increasing only marginally. The resulting complex of problems is not hard to imagine.

Let me return to the reform. I am far from implying that all the values and the opportunities it offers have been tested, or that it has assumed its final shape. It is worthwhile remembering that our Hungarian friends have now been working on their economic reform for 17 years. They proceed by trial and error, continue to experiment, take a step forward and sometimes backwards. Similarly, the Bulgarians are promoting their reform. An economic experiment is also being developed in the Soviet Union, gradually encompassing branches, industries and republics. Only when this experiment has been checked and analyzed will the reform be implemented on a nationwide scale, in the form which will be acknowledged by the Soviet comrades to be the best.

In our case, we jumped in at the deep end after a very short period of preparation lasting merely a few months; and also in the highly unsuitable circumstances I have mentioned. Bearing all this in mind, one can say that to a large extent the reform has fulfilled the role it was to play. Having said that, amendments are being introduced on the move, as it were, reflecting both the experience which has accumulated and the situation as it exists. And throughout, continuous nationwide discussion and consultations are being pursued.

Robert Maxwell: Are these discussions taking place throughout society, in the Party?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Indeed, throughout the whole country: in various professional quarters, above all among managers, men in the engineering trades and among workers. These discussions are broadly reflected in the press. And, I may add, the views presented often differ strongly.

An important national consultative meeting will be held on the 31st of May and 1st of June this year* in which representatives of the Party and State leadership, scientists, practitioners, factory managers and activists in self-management bodies and trade unions will participate. The purpose will be to define, together, what new elements should be introduced and what should be modified. The aim is to guarantee a stable framework for the reform over the next few years. In particular, the enterprises must be assured that solid economic mechanisms permit them to plan their activities on the basis of long-lasting rules and regulations.

Clearly, everything would be better, would be more rapidly and efficiently resolved, were Poland's foreign relations normalized and were Poland not subjected to the pressure of restrictions and other limitations still in force.

We really cannot comprehend the paradox in which a creditor raises obstacles to prevent a debtor paying back his debts. It is surely obvious that the lifting of restrictions, the reinstatement of normal finance and credit relations, and the widening of co-operation would permit the Polish economy to work in a higher gear, and thus for her debts to be repaid promptly. Clearly, in this instance, politics seems to be more important than the economy.

I wonder if that reply satisfies you? Perhaps you have a supplementary question to ask? On the other hand, we are surely not going to limit ourselves to the economic sphere alone, are we?

Robert Maxwell: No, of course not. But I should like to stick to economic issues for a little while longer. I am particularly interested in them, and I think that Western opinion is definitely under-informed where they are concerned. You mentioned the barriers raised by the West. But what was the attitude of Poland's allies?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Beyond any doubt, the assistance granted by the socialist countries, and pre-eminently the Soviet Union, at the time when we were initiating the reform, was a factor of paramount, indeed vital, importance. I should particularly mention the extra shipments and credits which we were given, repayment of which was postponed. And such assistance is still forthcoming, to this very day. This has given us a breathing space, and has partially diminished the burden. Things would have been much more difficult without it.

Robert Maxwell: All Poles, surely, want the reform to succeed. What you said about that consultative meeting interested me. Usually, when the head of

* This meeting took place as planned, in the city of Poznan.

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government calls a public conference of such magnitude, the underlying fact is that part of the power is being removed from one hand in order to pass it into another. We know that Polish central ministries wield overwhelming powers. At the same time, factory managers complain that they have insufficient influence on how their factories are run. And the workers and shopfloor managers feel they have little opportunity to show any kind of initiative at all.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: That is a sweeping statement. Our system does not inhibit the working people's initiative. Otherwise we could not have achieved as much as we have, during the past 40 years, which was a period of transformation, a true breakthrough in the civilized life of the whole nation. It became possible only thanks to the tremendous hard work and devotion of the working class, the toiling masses. The problem nowadays is first of all that such an initiative be stimulated on a wider scale, and that it be adjusted to the new conditions.

Robert Maxwell: That is just what I had in mind. The problem, not only in Poland, is to find a modern system of self-management. But, even accepting that you had insufficient time to prepare the ground for the reform, and that you had to jump in at the deep end, you must entertain some vision of the goal you wish to attain.

What is the ideology underlying the conference you mentioned? What are the conceivable shifts in the structure of power likely to be? What kind of division of executive rights is supposed to exist between the central ministries and the top echelons responsible for the economy—and the industrial managers?

Please remember that I was an adviser to Prime Minister Wilson on issues of science and industry, so I understand perfectly well the problems which you face. I would say more—that I am passionately interested in them. I have lectured at Harvard University, and I have also lectured at the Soviet Akademgorodok. I am intensely interested in what you are attempting.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Yes, I have heard you are an eminent economic specialist, hence the humility which I feel as a self-taught man in this field. But my many years of military and organizational experience as an army commander and also as a former Defence Minister permit me, perhaps, to understand elementary social and economic mechanisms.

Perhaps you will allow me an historical digression?

The West's approach to the economies of the socialist countries is a basically mistaken one. Before any pronouncement on whether socialist management methods have proved a success, one must consider the starting point, and compare like only with like. But, above all, one must make one's appraisals in a broad historical perspective.

Just think of the abyss which divided the United States and Russia in 1917. Think of the distance which separated Poland and Britain in 1939

and, more particularly, in 1945. Has that gap narrowed or widened? Anyone who is objective enough must admit that it has narrowed. And look at Russia since 1917. It was a desperately backward country, at the opposite pole from the United States, which had become richer during the First World War, and even more so during World War Two. But that same Russia is up in outer space today. It is also successfully resolving the great issues of the contemporary world, though obviously it is facing challenges.

Poland can be seen in a similar light. In 1939 she was a backward agricultural country, with a semi-feudal social pattern. Some three-tenths of the population were illiterate, a shameful state of affairs for this part of Europe. She had only a very feeble industry, mostly under the control of foreign capital—German, French, American, Swedish and so on.

And on top of all that came the devastation of war, of an extent which is hard to imagine in the West. No country in Europe experienced the destruction that Poland did. Almost 40 per cent of her national estate lay in ruins. The loss of national estate through war was twenty-five times that suffered by France, and forty-seven times that suffered by Britain. Six million Polish citizens lost their lives, among them the majority of our college graduates. Many major cities were destroyed. Warsaw was literally razed to the ground. And as if that were not enough, within a couple of years after the war the Polish nation went through the greatest internal migration in its history.

So, if you look at the real course of the last 40 years, you can see what a giant leap forward has been made. It was patently impossible at that time to use the economic mechanisms which we are introducing today. Bare hands, picks and shovels can hardly produce sophisticated machinery. Millions of people who had once been part of an unorganized labour force, particularly in the overpopulated rural districts, had to be employed. The time span for the great advance in civilized standards which the West took decades (if not centuries) to achieve was reduced in Poland to a mere quarter of a century, if one subtracts the years of postwar reconstruction. Industry, let me remind you, cannot be built in a forest. Roads were desperately needed, ports, communications, huge numbers of flats. The rapid urbanization of Poland could have been a task in itself for several generations.

Though blunders have been committed, some of them quite serious, the path we chose then was the most appropriate for the time.

Inevitably the moment arrived when our simple reserves were exhausted. Extensive economy ceased to meet development needs. I may add that, in my view, this conclusion was reached quite late in the day.

So, in order to keep in front today, in order not to fall behind, the economy must move into an intensive pattern. Two things are paramount here.

First—greater human resources, and, above all, to the maximum, strongly accelerated.

We are convinced that we are a gifted, and more than

After all, intensification of socialist countries. The dynamics in such a situation. Gorbachov was elected to the Soviet Union.

Robert Maxwell: Poland also faces the need for much larger resources.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: digressed in this history. experience behind. organizational structure. thinking cannot be

Much has been done. ministries have been created directly in spheres of enterprises have been introduced in the corresponds to the framework is concerned further stimulate industry has been put into various Parliamentary

But there is a mentality, a certain on the workshop still try to exceed enterprises through tendencies, but should be done overnight.

To the same extent to learn more than independent, yet not full.

For example, when compared with the for the enterprise political rights the

First—greater human initiative, more closely linked to material incentives and, above all, to the greater independence of a single enterprise. Second—a strongly accelerated advance in science and technology.

We are convinced that this is a feasible aim. Our nation is hardworking and gifted, and more than once has proved itself to be so.

After all, intensification has become the main theme throughout all the socialist countries. The Soviet Union in particular is displaying remarkable dynamics in such matters, and has done so from the moment Mikhail Gorbachov was elected Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Robert Maxwell: I have had the pleasure of meeting Mikhail Gorbachov. He also faces the need to revamp the economy, but in the Soviet Union there are much larger resources and reserves.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: That is so. But let us get back to your question. I have digressed in this historical vein to show you that we have four decades of experience behind us which has shaped a specific type of mentality. The organizational structures can be remade quite quickly. However, ways of thinking cannot be reversed that easily. That is a complex process.

Much has been changed in structural affairs. For example, five industrial ministries have been dissolved. The powers of ministries to intervene directly in spheres within the autonomous decision-making process of the enterprises have been limited. A new set of economic rules has been introduced in the banking system, finance, credits and taxation, which corresponds to the preconditions of contemporary economy. The new framework is conducive to the setting free of human initiative; it should further stimulate increased productivity. Extended autonomy of enterprises has been put into practice, and has been given the power of law under various Parliamentary Bills.

But there is also one factor visible which I see as a decelerating mentality, a certain inertia. You can find it in the middle echelons and also on the workshop floor. In certain industries the old habits die hard. They still try to exceed their authority and to interfere in the rights of enterprises through the back door, so to speak. We fervently oppose such tendencies, but shifting everyone over to a new code of work cannot be done overnight.

To the same extent managements and self-managing organizations have yet to learn more thoroughly the principles of autonomy. They insist on being independent, yet once they are so, they do not use their independence to the full.

For example, we point out that factory administrative staff is oversized, compared with those who are directly engaged in producing. This is a matter for the enterprises themselves to resolve, under the legal, economic and political rights they enjoy. The management and the workers' self-manage-

ment bodies are fully empowered to sack a number of white collar personnel and thus, either in absolute or relative figures, to increase the number of production workers. This is not fast enough though. Obviously, you have got to step on someone's toes and, at a certain moment, painful decisions will have to be taken.

The same is true of wages. A factory shows a profit, under normal economic rules. This profit ought to be divided according to the principle that he who did the most to achieve that profit should receive more than the others, even much more. But here one encounters a factor which the Russians call, in their colourful way, *uravnilovka*—that is cutting down everybody to equal size, irrespective of any other consideration: surely the most primitively understood egalitarianism. And remember that the decision here lies entirely with the enterprise. It would appear that neither management nor the self-management bodies you mentioned have the guts to be consistent in tackling such matters.

This has a very negative impact on the situation of qualified engineers. We know that our intellectuals, particularly engineering graduates, are underpaid, although they are the real driving force of industry. You may have heard that recently we held a plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee dealing with the problems of the highly educated cadre, the intelligentsia. We intend to increase considerably the wages of scientists, teachers, etc. The requisite financial decisions are being taken. But it is the factory itself which must do this within its own organization. It is the factory that must decide who is to get more and who less, but such decisions have more than once been disputed.

All this calls for patience in setting up the necessary conditions and, above all, in reshaping the human mentality. And that is, by nature, a complicated process of social character.

Robert Maxwell: That I can well understand. To fight against inertia and conservatism is never an easy thing, in any country or system. You must excuse my probing further into the economic theme of our talk, but could you, Mr. Prime Minister, elaborate further the lines along which your restructuring is to move? Perhaps you are thinking of using our Western experience as well?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Yes, we are also studying certain experiences of the capitalist countries. This is not to say that any can be automatically transplanted to Poland, but there are several which we are looking at with interest. For instance, in the capitalist countries large corporations exist which can pursue long-term policies of scientific and technical research. Bitter disappointments stemming out of overcentralization have led us in Poland to treat enterprise autonomy in a much too one-sided fashion.

Experience in recent years shows that an economically strong, independent, intermediary-level organization is also needed. In the past, these were the so-

called "associati- we must do no regular econom we call it. This enterprises and

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called "associations", but they were really only administrative bodies. What we must do now is to create an intermediary-level body operating along regular economic principles, actually some kind of syndicate or *kombinat*, as we call it. This body would coordinate the operations of a larger group of enterprises and would pursue a coherent, independent policy.

We want to do this in a flexible way. For instance, in the case of napkins, one factory or another can produce them without any interference, and by letting the market dictate how they manage. But in industries where rapid development is the password, where you have to think 10 to 20 years ahead, then forces and structures must exist to be able to do just that. As you realize, it is no easy thing to enforce technical progress on anyone, in your system as well as in ours. There are countries which are unable to catch up, at least when compared with today's leaders.

A special Committee for Science and Technological Progress has been established in order to pursue policies at the central level. Its job is to concentrate the available resources and means at those points which are real forerunners for the future.

We have been studying Japanese methods and those used, for example, in the German Democratic Republic. Up to three engineers out of every ten are employed exclusively on scientific and technological progress in each major factory in those countries. And in Poland, all too often such people work in inspection departments and office jobs.

What we are doing is to search for a method compatible with our system which would be sufficiently active to make technological progress a paying concern. Or, put the other way around: that it should not be profitable not to be technologically advanced.

You mentioned the workers' self-management bodies in passing. I believe you know Armand Hammer? I met him some two years ago, and we were sitting just here when I asked him: "Mr. Hammer, are you not thinking of introducing the principle of self-management in your enterprises? I mean, because it so democratic?" "Never", he replied—"no self-management bodies! The director's hand must be strong."

Our approach to this issue is different. In Poland the basic means of production are owned by the State. But, at the same time, those who run the enterprises are the people who work in them. The self-management element in our system constitutes a large social force. It imparts the feeling that one is really co-responsible for the performance of the company. It also brings the workforce into the planning and economic streamlining process; it leads to improved effectiveness. Finally, it constitutes a factor which mobilizes the staff. The role of the workers' self-management, thus understood, is now being better and more effectively implemented in the majority of enterprises.

Less positive examples can also be quoted, like the self-management bodies that seem to care little for the future, and for the means which must be set

aside if there is to be technological advancement and development. They sometimes prefer to distribute what the factory has earned, and all too often they think in selfish terms, solely of their own company.

We—and by that I mean the Polish United Workers' Party and Government—have to look farther and deeper at the country's and the nation's future. That is how we see our rôle. It is, however, no easy thing to balance mechanisms enforcing higher productivity with full social security. That is a fact, but we shall surely overcome it in time. We have gone through worse trials.

We are having to learn this new philosophy. And I repeat, it is a complex process, though an irreversible one. There will be no retreat from the reform in Poland.

Robert Maxwell: May I say how grateful I am for that profound and very interesting commentary on the economic reform and Poland's economic problems.

If you would permit, I should like to make a comment. You are quite right when you speak of the need to link small industrial plants into large groups. That is happening in Britain, the FRG and in many other countries. It is the best way to get the maximum effect from the available means which are, after all, far from profuse.

As I understand it, the Party and Government in this new situation are responsible for drafting macro-economic central plans and for economic strategy in the literal sense. But these intentions must be delivered on a microscale for substantiation to local plants grouped into larger entities. And that means that the powers of central ministries would be limited. Are you sure of success?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: You have hit the nail on the head. I feel that the establishing of the groupings of which you speak will allow us to cut back further on the administrative functions of the ministries, and thereby to strengthen their strategic programming. The integration of the work of the industrial ministries should make them operate as a single ministry of industry. That will obviously require meaningful organizational changes.

Robert Maxwell: When might it come about?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: In a few years.

Robert Maxwell: I am asking you this, Mr. Prime Minister, for a specific reason. Apart from being a journalist and politician, I also manage a pension fund to the tune of 500 million pounds. Many leading bankers whom I meet in Europe, including those in the European Economic Community, are going to ask me what the prospects are for economic reform and what the present situation is in Poland, in terms of economy. That is why I am so interested in fully understanding what your endeavours are in this respect.

I am saying this as a friend. For it is my view that Poland can pay her debts only as a country reforming her economy. That is the reason why I am

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devoting so much time to discuss this crucial issue. I do hope you will forgive me.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I am not sure that your readers will expect so much on economic matters, but please go on.

Robert Maxwell: Economic issues assume an unusually important position at a time when your economy badly needs expanded exports, and living standards are being improved with such great difficulty. You have of course the great luck to be a homogenous nation. You yourself have gained your own accumulated experience in this matter. So how do you intend to resolve the issue of low wages in Poland? Clearly you have to be able to take from one place in order to be able to give in another.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I have already partially touched on that matter. First, that which you possess must be properly allocated. More has to be given to those who are the pioneers, the driving force, while less should be given to those who fall behind.

This is a very burning social problem, but also a psychological, and even a political, one as well. There is no way to avoid it. Such is the Polish ABC. You have surely heard that a key socialist principle is: from each according to his capabilities, to each according to his deeds.

Robert Maxwell: Of course!

Wojciech Jaruzelski: It is still not always attainable in practice, for the reasons I mentioned earlier. But we try to bring this awareness into people's consciousness. Our policy is an open one. We call it "working with the curtain raised". At present we are openly and widely discussing the country's problems in various ways, beginning from the Party platform, and then the mass media, with discussions within the coalition Parties and also nationwide consultations. We call that the economic education of the nation.

Robert Maxwell: Has it already been started?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: A decision has been taken on this by the Polish United Workers' Party, and is presently being implemented. We even employ rather unusual methods. For example, special quizzes are staged on the TV in which representatives of the management, self-management bodies and unions from a pair of factories are asked questions about the reform and the economy in those factories. The contenders reply, a jury decides who wins and prizes are distributed. The atmosphere is like a sporting event with all the accompanying excitement. But at the same time a lesson in economy is being taught. The purpose is that people may understand that it is they, and not the state, on which most depends.

These macro categories are still not always clear to ordinary blue collar workers. Hence, they find it difficult sometimes to comprehend why wages are higher in one factory than in another, though both produce the same wares. One produces inexpensively, while the other teeters on the verge of bankruptcy.

There are 500 plants which are currently going through something we call a "health cure", and to whom a bank has delivered a kind of ultimatum, giving them six months or a year to get their problems settled, and to prove that they are efficient. Should this not come to pass, a receivers' board is imposed, with a managing director wielding almost dictatorial powers. The self-management body is suspended. (By the way, such receivers' directors, usually young persons, are presently going through a course of instruction in one of our institutions.) Should that stage also prove ineffective, then the next stage envisaged in the respective parliamentary bill is that a weaker enterprise may be bought up by a stronger one. The final resort would be the closure of a plant. That is something we wish to avoid, since it is an ultimate resort which would be harmful to the economy as a whole.

That is not to say that there are not, nor ever will be, any subsidies. In the socialist system we approach these problems differently. We shall continue to subsidize some branches, such as communal operations and a certain proportion of foodstuffs. Some goods are also subsidized in the West, surely, for example in agriculture?

Our intention, however, is to reduce the scope of such subsidies to the imperative minimum. For instance State Farms were heavily subsidized, prior to the economic reform. As you may know, 75 per cent of the land is in the hands of self-employed farmers, and the remainder is in the form of nationalized, mainly State, farms. Before the reform, these were largely operating in the red. The prices paid to farmers for their products have been raised in recent years and though subsidies still exist they have been substantially reduced. The State farms have been granted full autonomy, with profit-and-loss calculations being the decisive factor. The outcome is that the economic reform is performing formidably in these units, as is the case throughout the small businesses.

The notion is that the reform performs better in small enterprises. And I may add here that we are strongly supporting the development of small plants at present.

Robert Maxwell: Could I make a comment, and then ask a question?

My comment is this: I think you are too slow and too gentle in injecting realism into your economy, in telling loss-making enterprises that they are being badly run. I respect the resultant political problems, but the economic situation you face is such that we would advise you to take a more radical approach.

I employ 20 thousand people in my companies and I certainly do not intend to create unemployment, if for no other reason than that my father was unemployed for most of his life. I no more like firing people than you like declaring companies bankrupt and sacking people. But an economic shock, proof that the government means business and is resolute, that it wants to

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Of course, I am only a foreigner, but what I am trying to do is to make you realize how necessary it is to bring home quickly the economic realities. The example of closing down a company could result in more rapid progress in profitability and production than those TV programmes you mentioned.

I am saying this as someone who was invited by the banks three years ago to salvage the British printing industry from bankruptcy. This I did, as a Labour Party member, in consultation with the unions. I recommended that employment be slashed by 35 per cent. And, three years later, the industry is yielding a profit, exporting many printed products to Federal Germany, France and Switzerland. In a word, firmness and even brutality by the government is of fundamental significance to the economy.

My question is this: does the Polish government intend to employ foreign consultants to advise it on how to organize the large industrial groupings you mentioned? Are you going to use the services of foreign consultant companies? If you are not doing so already, I very sincerely suggest that you give the proposal your attention. It costs next to nothing, but brings huge benefits.

Todor Zhivkov, with whom I have had the opportunity to review these problems several times, told me that the Bulgarian government is using this form of consulting with the participation of foreign companies to a large degree in economic modernization processes. And the Hungarians are moving the same way.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: First, perhaps, let us take what you said about the need for a more firm, even more brutal, approach, as you put it, when a company has to be given a course of treatment. Close it down, fire the staff, declare it bankrupt and so on.

The thing is that the effect of such an approach would not be the same here as in the West, neither socially nor psychologically, for the simple reason that in Poland there is no unemployment, nor should there be. The opposite is true—there is an unsaturated demand for blue-collar manpower. I am not claiming that the work force is always being used rationally to the full. The existing workforce could be better employed, mainly through stricter discipline and more efficient work organization, better technical equipment and, in the future, the wider use of automated systems and robots.

For the moment, however, as soon as a person is fired from one plant he can take up another job in the company next door. It would not, therefore, lead to radical change, as far as the attitude to the job is concerned.

Since we are still on the economic tack, I should like to take the opportunity to point out a politically telling example how certain Western Governments inspire anti-State forces in Poland. They give their support to a so-called

opposition, but this is not opposition in your meaning of the word. There is no opposition in the West which yearns to take over its country by ruining its national economy and devastating the very substance of its economic existence. That was what was happening here in 1980 and 1981. The people concerned were unable to think up one single creative idea worthy of attention. What they were actually striving for was something like a Lebanon, but with Swiss living standards.

Now, look closer at the cynical duplicity of those in the West who stand behind these groupings. Day in and day out, various radio stations are drumming into Polish ears that the Government does not want to implement the reform, that it is only pretending. But in the next programme, sometimes only a few minutes later, they shout about price rises in Poland, that the workers are being driven into impoverishment. They never say that a reform has to be tough, if it is to be effective. Somebody has to be deprived, if social justice is to be compatible with effectiveness.

Thus, on the one hand, we are being attacked because we do not want the reform, and on the other because we do want it. If we are not determined enough—that's a bad thing. When we show determination—that's bad again. This is not a matter which you can just shrug off. It concerns people who accept unpopular decisions unwillingly. It results in bewilderment and faulty illusions.

This is but one of the elements of Western interference which make it more difficult for our economic problems to be resolved by common sense, bearing in mind all the economic and political conditions.

May I remind you at this point that we have had some tantalizing experiences largely unparalleled in any other socialist country. They may well be the result of our national temper, as well as of other causes, including external influences. Attempts in the past to breathe health into the economy usually led to half-hearted solutions, if any; or they were rescinded in the face of violent public protests. As you surely know, in December 1970 an attempt was made to raise the price of meat among other things, though these increases were moderate. Immediately we were confronted with . . .

Robert Maxwell: A revolt.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: One could call it that. It was extremely painful. There was violence, and acts of arson, etc., so that force had to be used to restore law and order. Finally, the price rise was revoked. Because of this, economically sensible prices were not set.

Another attempt followed—in 1976. The same happened again. The price rise was again revoked. The price aberration continued. This situation led to a profound crisis. Only as late as in 1982 was it conceivable to attain price changes, this time quite sizeable. If made earlier they could have been more palatable, and less socially significant. Certain psychological factors were at

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play here, factors which frequently make it impossible to act rationally in this country. Even today, the Government must take into account demands which are economically unreasonable.

It makes you wonder why in the West certain politicians can criticize us, without a shade of embarrassment, for running "an inadequately efficient economy" and, at the same time, for "violating human rights" in one and the same breath! The present Government in your country has somehow no such dilemma about its national policies. I would rather not elaborate on that here. Indeed, I raised it with the Secretary of State, Sir Geoffrey Howe. Frequently, we ask in bewilderment: is this consistent? Is it logical?

Robert Maxwell: Something which you call the national temperament of the Poles is deeply rooted in history.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I am glad that you put it that way, because some of those from the West to whom I have talked gave the impression that they have read nothing about our history.

Let me say it again, the Poles may be quick-tempered, but they are still a wise and responsible nation, as was proven in the recent, so very troublesome, years. Our shortcomings have, above all, historical roots.

The traditions of Polish statehood cannot be compared to those of England, or France. You have been advancing towards your present phase of democracy for centuries. Speaking frankly, I doubt whether we agree on what democracy is, and what it only pretends to be. But there are certain universal principles of democratic functioning. Most countries have worked them out through fighting tyranny, the strong rule of a king or of a tsar. Heads rolled quite often. The process lasted for centuries.

In this country, however, there has virtually never been a strong royal rule. There were long periods in our history of near anarchy and licence. Later, for 124 years, the Polish State was non-existent, partitioned among three occupying powers, at the very time when modern societies were emerging in Europe. Between 1918 and 1926 we had a brief and rather unsuccessful affair with a multi-party parliamentary system. Later, 13 years of a peculiar semi-dictatorship followed. Next came the Nazi occupation. When and where could the roots of democratic habits shape and develop?

One of the questions you gave me earlier concerns State-Church relations. I do not think this can be related to the matter of democracy. The British people know best how they have settled their affairs with the Vatican. Here, it was entirely different. The Church cannot be appraised in Poland in the same manner as in Western societies. It is an institution which, for example, in England or France, could not fit into the present structure of the State.

It simply takes time, and the fulfilment of many conditions, to set the whole democratic machinery in full operation. We have already done very much,

unprecedentedly much, to let it become an integral part of political and social life.

In the West it is both cheap and easy to criticize our actions, even those which are absolutely indispensable to saving the State, for instance martial law or other lawful measures of self-defence. At the same time, a blind eye is turned to what we are doing for democracy. Isn't it obvious that various anti-State excesses in effect can only procrastinate the process of further democratization?

We would like to have covered much more on this road. But since things are continuously made more difficult for us, and new elements of destruction are mounted, or anarchy is incited—of necessity we have to apply corresponding countermeasures.

Robert Maxwell: Allow me to say, Mr. Prime Minister, that I think—as do many other people—that one of the reasons why you have succeeded in overcoming your worst predicament was because the already effected price rise was part of the economic reform. And it was accomplished while you were curbing anarchy in your country. Earlier, I think the price rise would not have been possible. It is a great accomplishment that you have taught the Poles to be realistic about prices. The process is not finished yet, but what has already been done I consider a great success on the part of your Government, both domestically and internationally.

Truly, you should not mind at all what the Western broadcasting stations say, or any one else in this trade. Quite simply, it is not worth while. Basically, you have to reckon with the real conditions of normalization, and the problems of modernizing your economy.

I hope that your reform will succeed. However, if I am perversely sceptical, it is because you persistently refuse to accept—of course, I am not talking about you personally—that you will never reform your economy unless you accept a certain small percentage of unemployment may be inevitable.

Unless you accept it, you are going to return slowly to the earlier state of the Polish economy. Is it not politically possible to make workers, employees, realize that they should accept some fringe unemployment? It would be easier then to move labour where it is indeed needed. I understand the ideological aspect, but from the economic point of view it would considerably facilitate the process of economic recovery. What is preventing you from doing this?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Perhaps first I should answer the second part of your earlier question, concerning foreign experts.

A few months ago I received Mr. Berthold Beitz, whom you may possibly know. He is a proven friend of Poland. He made a similar suggestion, perhaps not so explicitly worded. He said they were ready to offer consultation services to our representatives. I was interested. Very soon the Deputy Prime Minister,

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Zbigniew Szalajda, responsible for industry in my Government, will leave for FRG. Perhaps this will mark the beginning of other, similar initiatives.

For obvious reasons, as long as the situation between Poland and other West European countries has not reached full normalization, politically as well as economically, it is difficult to suppose that such co-operation could be established on any meaningful scale. Regrettably, we are still confronted with hostile policies. We can hardly take every offer of such co-operation as a good sign. There is a Polish proverb which says that he who has been burnt will blow when the pot is cold.

Provided that there is development toward normal co-operation, we shall willingly accept such suggestions. Still, your idea is interesting, I accept it. We shall keep it in mind.

Now, the question of unemployment. Here, the right to employment is a matter of doctrine, one of the fundamental human rights. We will not, and may not, refuse this right to anyone.

Besides, it would be unrealistic in our situation. So far, we have a shortage of manpower, particularly in the service industries. It will be a matter of years before we shall be able to say that the overall needs have been satisfied, and the more so when one considers the unfavourable population trends which I mentioned earlier.

Practically the same, or nearly the same, effect could be achieved by a consistent observance of the rule that we pay very well for a job well done, and very little for bad work. I think that first we shall have to cross this threshold, this barrier. The problem of some sort of unemployment (or rather, relative surplus of manpower) could, perhaps, emerge in this country as a distant prospect.

Robert Maxwell: I understand your argument on unemployment, and accept what you say.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Is that because you have to, or because you want to?

Robert Maxwell: I both must and want to. I do not renounce my view that mobility of labour is hardly attainable in the absence of unemployment. But I will not bore you, Prime Minister, with this question.

I would like to return to the matter of consultants. First, I should like you to know that I am a consultant to the Bulgarian Government in modernizing their printing industry. I may add, with satisfaction, that I have also been approached by the Soviet Government Commission for Scientific and Technical Progress. Of course, I am not applying for a job in Poland, but I would like to say something very important in this matter.

There is something I wish to tell you, Prime Minister, in the light of the forthcoming trip by Mr. Szalajda to the FRG. Indeed, Mr. Bertold Beitz is a friend of Poland. I am not talking about Chancellor Kohl, with whom, besides, I have talked, about the food parcels sent to Poland. That is, however, a separate matter, on which I do not want to dwell at this point.

What I have to say about consultants is the following. It is impossible to talk about genuine consultation with a manufacturer of goods. Such consultation may only end up with a proposal to order goods from his company. In the West, however, there are whole chains of companies which are not involved in production at all, and which provide independent consultation without any relationship to an industry or company. If you intend to use consultants, you really should seek the advice of such independent experts.

Secondly, Poland's economy needs upgrading and modernization, it needs a refinement of its end products. This requires both credits and export markets. The consultants whom I mentioned are in a position to advise banks and other units to commit themselves to co-operation with such new industrial groupings.

Although it is not the major topic of our conversation, it seems to me that it would be useful to take advantage of these suggestions. We have vast experience in these matters, and I take the liberty of strongly advising you to use this form of assistance at this stage of modernizing Poland's economy. But you should never seek the assistance of those who have a relationship with any system or pressure group.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Thank you for that advice, which could come in useful for us and which I shall keep in mind.

We wish to expand co-operation, and not only in the field of consulting, with other countries as well as the FRG. But it so happens that right there, on the Rhine, they have the best developed practical brains. It is no accident that Messrs. Beitz and Genscher, Bangemann and Vogel, have all visited us. Also Chancellor Kohl has asked me for a meeting; and, besides, we have already met.

Other Western countries manifest positively less of that sort of initiative. We would willingly use, for example, British offers. I raised this with Secretary of State Sir Geoffrey Howe. But, alas, progress in this direction is pretty slow.

They say that Britain has neither eternal friends, nor eternal enemies, only lasting interests. We would like to see these "lasting interests" linked to good, active relations with Poland.

Robert Maxwell: I believe that we, in Great Britain, should co-operate on a broader front with your Government and commercial companies. We could contribute to the modernization of Poland's economy in the areas in which we complement each other, and in which we can compete.

Such possibilities also exist in printing. The Polish printing industry is now in deplorable shape and needs reorganization. This could be relatively easily achieved, without high costs. The printing business could become one of your major exporters.

I have been using the services of the Polish printing business, to a certain extent, for more than 30 years and I still continue to do so.

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There is much to be tackled here. We would be pleased if we could contribute to resolving these problems, and provide assistance for mutual benefits, on the basis of negotiated agreements.

I would be glad to offer my own time to assist with this task.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Thank you very much for your offer. It is with appreciation and respect that I welcome your interest in our printing industry. I am sure we shall revert on working terms to this matter in the near future.

Robert Maxwell: The relations between our two countries after the visit of Sir Geoffrey Howe—as you mentioned—are in a good shape, although we are not in full agreement. Despite your economic hardships, over the recent years, exports and imports have been growing on both sides and to the benefit of both sides.

As you know, British companies did not abandon Poland at the turning point of your crisis. We stayed here; we finished the job. I was personally responsible not only for supplying scientific and technical publications and periodicals issued by my publishing house, to Polish industry and universities, but also persuaded others to continue co-operation, including co-operation on credit terms, even if there was no certainty that payment would be made.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: As far as the position of British companies is concerned, it may be that the facts which you and I know are—how shall I say it—slightly in disagreement. Mr. Maxwell, I regret to tell you that the famous British reliability has become a little tarnished in our eyes. Your discretion did not extend far enough to allow you to break away from NATO decisions, which, after all, are set predominantly by Washington.

You are, however, right in the other matter. Please accept our thanks. This is a good basis for future co-operation.

Robert Maxwell: Allow me to select a few items from among the other questions I have in mind. Would that be all right?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Please do. Our conversation has gone far beyond the framework of the questions which I received in writing, which is good. In this way we are having more of a conversation than a formal interview.

Robert Maxwell: For this I am very grateful. Forgive me, please, Mr. Prime Minister, that so much of our conversation has been taken up by economic issues. Perhaps I may ask a few general questions concerning Poland's internal situation.

How do you perceive the progress in relations between the State and the Catholic Church, particularly since an overwhelming majority of your society is Catholic? This issue is often raised in the West. I am also interested in a broader problem: can Poland, so predominantly Catholic, find a lasting place in the East European community of socialist States?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I am glad you asked this question. Correct relations

between a socialist State and the Church indeed constitute a paramount problem. And not only for our country.

Let me begin with an essential truth. We do not see any contradiction between the political, economic, social, cultural or international aims of our socialist State and the fulfilment of the religious needs of believers.

Our State has always recognized and intends to continue to recognize, respect and protect the freedoms of religion and belief. It is our concern that the religious needs of believers should be fully satisfied, and our Constitution declares this to be so.

It is also our concern that the clergy of all denominations are assured complete liberty in discharging their pastoral duties. No one can honestly question this.

In Poland there is an ongoing historical process of self-adaptation by the Catholic Church to life in a socialist system. It has made progress, although its end is a long way ahead.

Perhaps you know that in Poland's history there were periods resembling theocracy. The ecclesiastical apparatus was particularly strongly linked to the feudal structures of the State. The Counter-reformation scored a total victory here. Even during the period between the two world wars the Roman Catholic religion enjoyed the formal status of an official denomination, legally and practically privileged.

Our State is a secular state—the first one in more than a thousand years of our history. It is not, though—as some claim—an atheistic State. It is not engaged in conflict with the Catholic or any other religion.

Certainly, on philosophical grounds, there is an insurmountable divergence between the Marxist-Leninist persuasion, which is the guideline for our Party, and the religious persuasion. But we are not unique in this respect. Nor are we unique in saying that it is both necessary and possible to understand each other, to live in mutual respect and tolerance. Dialogue is possible, too. The more so because, in its socio-political life, the whole nation is guided by common interests, regardless of persuasion.

Clericalism is a factor hampering Church-State relations, and is manifested in the attitudes of some of the clergy, including certain bishops. It is predominantly shown in the drive to subordinate the natural, lay, aspects of life to the ruthless domination of the clergy, and by acts of intolerance toward non-believers or those professing other religions.

In any case, tolerance for those who believe differently has never been a particular virtue of the Catholic religion, especially where it enjoyed the status of being stronger than other religions. Clericalism is particularly manifested through the abuse of places of worship and purely religious ceremonies to wage a political struggle against the constitutional authority. I shall not conceal the fact that we are resentful and concerned about this. We oppose the anachronistic trend toward a peculiar "neo-theocracy", we shall not acquiesce

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The overall relationship between the State and the Church is, therefore, not entirely dependent on the State. It depends equally on the attitude of the clergy and bishops as well as on the attitude of the Holy See.

Our relations with the Vatican are generally good, as has been confirmed by the two visits to Poland of Pope John Paul II—in 1979 and 1983, and also proved in official encounters.

Robert Maxwell: Does your Government deem it workable to establish fully-fledged diplomatic relations with the Vatican?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: This is a conversation which will appear in a book. A book has a longer life than a newspaper. I would therefore not wish to make statements which after some time may become outdated. As you well know, many things change in the Vatican, too. I can only say that we see no major obstacles to the two States—for we mean the Vatican State, don't we?—having the same type of formal relations which are today enjoyed by the Holy See and, for example, Great Britain, or, more recently, by the United States. It is, however, a complex issue, hinged on very many factors.

Robert Maxwell: You surely do not consider me to be a papal envoy?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I appreciate your sense of humour.

Robert Maxwell: There is too the other part of my question.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I am just going to answer it. I do not think that the existence of a Catholic majority should constitute an obstacle to the consolidation of our role in the Socialist Commonwealth. After all, whatever you see here has been built up during 40 years by believers and non-believers alike. And what has been built serves socialist Poland well and, by the same token, the whole allied community.

There is only one socialist Poland. In some areas of constructing our system we are more advanced than in others. But this is understandable, and conditioned by our history. In each country socialism has specific features. One of the features of our people is a relatively high percentage of Catholics. Neither in the past has it been a barrier to Poland's adherence to the socialist bloc nor will it be so in the future. Our experience tells us that an overwhelming majority of Catholics, and a substantial majority of the clergy, are far from challenging socialism. Religion and political attitudes are two different things, and the Polish people understand that only too well.

Robert Maxwell: Thank you for a broad and frank explanation. Truly, I was carried away by my journalistic enthusiasm, because I well understand (and am probably not alone in that among Westerners) that the future of Poland is decided in another domain. I only wish to express the view that the experiment taking place here, of coexistence between a socialist State and such a powerful institution as the Catholic Church, may have an impact on the situation in many other countries.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I agree, although it would be far better for Poland if this testing ground were not used by certain external forces which are wholly indifferent to the fate of Poland while being genuinely frightened by the possible success of the experiment. You may remember that after the proclamation of martial law we were faced with several "conditions", one of which made us laugh ironically: re-enter the dialogue with the Church. When a phrase like this appears in an unfriendly newspaper, you can only shrug it off; but if something so stupendously senseless is urged by the Governments of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, then you must ask yourself whether in other, more important, matters the information possessed by such Governments is equally, let us say, devoid of reality. If so, that would be really dangerous.

In Poland, the dialogue with the Church has never been suspended. It is held on various levels, regularly, in a sincere and workmanlike atmosphere. However, we have never heard the aforementioned Governments publicly retract that earlier nonsense.

Besides—I do not want to repeat myself as I have mentioned this several times in interviews for the foreign press—who in the West actually knows that in Poland more churches are being built than in all the other countries of Europe combined? That we have more priests now than we had before the war? That in 1984 alone nine times more men were ordained to the priesthood than in France?

Robert Maxwell: True, those facts are little known.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: But the various over-simplifications or mis-statements arising from propaganda are well known.

Robert Maxwell: Mr. Prime Minister, I have already taken up much of your time, but there are still subjects of interest on which I would like to seek your views. Could you say a few words on the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, and its present leadership?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Gladly. Here, too, much misunderstanding exists in the West, although, in many cases, it would be more accurate to call it sheer slander.

Socialist Poland is a sovereign State. I am leaving aside the theoretical definition of sovereignty in the conditions of the modern world, as this question is discussed everywhere, including in your own country. I believe that the interdependence of all countries has produced many corrections of nineteenth-century ideas. Will, for instance, Great Britain retain all the attributes of her traditional sovereignty if the so-called Star Wars programme is realized? Have the Common Market countries not ceded part of their sovereign rights to supranational bodies?

Thus, I am talking about the common, practical, understanding of sovereignty. That we decide ourselves about matters vitally important to Poland, that my Government is accountable to the Polish Parliament. . . . It is rather shameful that this can still require explanation.

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Robert Maxwell: However, bearing in mind what the state of knowledge is in the West of your country's real problems...

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I have to offer my defence at least to the enlightened, realistic segment of the Western public. Frequently, recently—almost every week—I meet prominent Western politicians and I do not get the impression that they acquire their knowledge of modern Poland exclusively from reports of certain press agencies or mass circulation papers. If such reports were to be trusted, Poland would have ceased to exist four years ago. Nothing ever goes right here, every move of the Government is stupid and wrong, the so-called opposition is gaining strength day by day...

Robert Maxwell: That is, more or less, what it looks like.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Let me now come back to your question. My answer will be detailed, because I know the Soviet Union fairly well. I speak Russian, and also this subject is particularly important to me personally. As you know, I was there during the war. This offered me an opportunity to learn about the Soviet people in times of great trial. It strengthened my profound respect for them.

Our friendly, broadly developed relations with the Soviet Union are a crucial factor of our foreign policy. This stems both from direct neighbourhood with this great State, from the natural, decisive importance of our economic ties, and from the logic of allied bonds based on ideological unity.

These particular, inseparably knit, factors guarantee the security of our State, and the sovereignty and inviolability of Poland's frontiers. No other country, no other arrangement of forces, can or will provide this guarantee to Poland.

The friendly relations between Poland and the Soviet Union are vitally needed by both peoples. They are also an important element of security and peaceful co-operation among all European States. Try to imagine a Europe where Poland is at odds with the Soviet Union.

History is a great and ruthless teacher. It has taught us enough painful lessons. In the past, the orientation of Poland's policy toward the West was one of the major causes of the defeats and national disasters which visited every generation. In no way have we ever benefitted from looking to London and Paris, or from the futile cross-breeding of the Polish court with West European courts, although they say that the Empress of Austria, Maria Theresa, cried when she signed the treaty of Poland's partition.

Robert Maxwell: I share your bitterness, but did not Great Britain go to war over Poland?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: The reasons were more complex. But even that is not the point. Did the military actions of our allies on the Western front force the Germans to withdraw one single tank from the battlefields in Poland? We were fighting heroically, but were desperately, hopelessly, alone. My

generation will never forget this. You cannot possibly imagine the feelings of a man belonging to a nation doomed to extinction.

Robert Maxwell: I certainly can.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Then the better you can understand us. The fate of the war was decided by the armed effort of the Soviet Union. The territory of Poland was liberated by the Soviet Army, and by the allied Polish Army enlisted with the help of the Soviet Union. I can recall this since I myself was one of those who, with the Soviet soldiers, shared the hardships of war and was lucky enough to take part in the liberation of the Homeland. I was among the Polish soldiers, the first in our history, who reached the Elbe in that memorable May of 1945. We shook hands with the American troops, our allies in the struggle against the Nazis. It is impossible to forget this; it is too deep-rooted.

Yet, we do not build Poland's policies on emotions and recollections, although for us they may weigh more than they do for other peoples. The line of our thinking must start with the facts, and I am talking not about communists, not about the left, but about the fact that in Yalta and Potsdam the Soviet Union played a decisive role in ensuring for Poland a proper place among the European nations. Do you perhaps remember the attitude to Poland then taken by Winston Churchill, who otherwise is respected here as one of the great leaders of the Alliance? He warned Stalin that "the Polish goose will choke" on the regained Western territories. Do you know what the U.S. Secretary of State, James Byrnes, said in Stuttgart, in September 1946? He deplored the "German sufferings", and urged a revision of the post-war frontiers before we could even remove the remains of our dead from the centres of Warsaw, Wrocław and Szczecin. In a nutshell: if it were not for the Soviet Union, today's Poland would not be what it is: a strong, sovereign country in Central Europe.

Robert Maxwell: Such reasoning is, I feel, understandable to persons of our generation in the West. The young, though, do not necessarily see things in the same way.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I agree. I agree, totally. Even in my country, where to this day there is probably not a single family which has not suffered in the war, the younger generation often accepts the present state of affairs as being as natural as a sunset.

But, then, look at the other side of the coin. Not only the Polish State benefits from its present relations with the Soviet Union. Twice in this century invading forces have rolled eastward over Poland. The wide plains of central Poland and her shallow rivers are easy to pass. A vulnerable factor in Soviet defensive strategy is the Polish-Soviet frontier, along the River Bug. Surely, that major power has an adequate reason to wish for a friendly neighbour at that particular spot? That was why the Soviet Union took a clearly defined stance from the very first at Yalta and Potsdam. The Soviet

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State needs a strong, allied Poland. The West, however, has always preferred a weak and malleable Poland.

Soviet post-war foreign policy, too, cannot be overlooked. It entirely coincides with the interests of the Polish nation, which has been so severely tried. And that is why we threw our support behind it and will participate effectively in its substantiation. I see no reason why we should go here into the details of the present tension and its origins. I am sure my associates who are responsible for foreign affairs will brief you convincingly on these matters. But I would like you to believe that I—as a former Defence Minister of many years—am well acquainted with the way of thinking of the Soviet leadership where defence issues are concerned. Never has the thought ever arisen there of seizing unilateral military supremacy. The Soviet people, more than any other, know the price of war. By its very nature, Soviet foreign policy is closest to us.

Quite apart from that, Poland and the Soviet Union are linked by a fundamental ideological community. Scientific socialism is the foundation on which both countries base their social and economic systems. True, they are at different stages of socialist construction and each country has its own development pattern. Having said that, it is in both Polish and Soviet interests to expand their mutual co-operation widely in all areas.

I do hope that I have convinced you.

You also asked me what our relations are with the present Soviet leadership. They are very good. I repeat that: very good, friendly, sincere, partner-like, characterized by mutual understanding and trust.

My recent very fruitful talks after the Warsaw Treaty summit in Warsaw on the 26th of April fully reaffirmed that. I must frankly admit that we are deeply impressed by the penetrating far-sightedness, dynamism and consistency of the present General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. I am convinced that our close relations will even further consolidate in the years to come.

Robert Maxwell: It would be splendid if you could comment on Poland's relations with the West in the same manner.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: We enjoyed good relations with most Western European countries for more than twenty years. Détente serves Polish interests well. Poland has made no small effort in the cause of consolidation of peace and security, to mention only the Rapacki Plan, or Gomulka Plan. What we would very much like to happen is the restoration of at least the climate of mutual respect and co-operation. Regrettably, a return to what was called the era of negotiations seems unlikely, though no blame for that can rest with the socialist community.

Robert Maxwell: Prime Minister, is there anything outside what you have written in your foreword that you wish to pass on through me as intermediary to readers in the English-speaking world? Perhaps you would wish to give

them a closer insight into the present state of Polish-American relations, which are cool, as we all know?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: The English-speaking world is a sweeping term. English is spoken, for instance, in Nigeria and—very largely—in India. The reasons why English became rooted there, as you know, go back to the colonial period.

Robert Maxwell: But your own associates speak English, though Poland was not colonized.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: The English language won a wider following in Poland in the wake of World War Two. But let us leave linguistics aside. Your question relates to that group of countries with common cultural roots, such as Britain, Canada, Australia, the United States and so on.

I am aware that those countries exert a great impact on current developments. Speaking in the name of a nation which has suffered so much in its history, which desires peace so fervently, and has such enormous need to satisfy, I would like to see our relations with this English-speaking world much improved. The 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazi fascism which we recently observed has again rendered validity to these reflections. Remember, we were allies once, we fought against a common enemy, even side by side, on the Western Front.

Robert Maxwell: I am glad you mentioned that. In Britain Poland's contribution to the final victory is highly esteemed. True, we sent you no food parcels, we respect your pride too much, but it was an anniversary which united us.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: We observed the anniversary in such a solemn manner because for us it is also the remembrance of our greatest victory. Only Soviet and Polish banners fluttered over captured Berlin, at the place where orders had been given to exterminate the Polish people, as the "final solution" of the Polish question.

If we look back to 1945, it is not to evoke resentment or to foment mistrust. We appreciate all the German people have contributed to world culture and science. We know there are better and brighter chapters in its history. We enjoy excellent relations with our German neighbour, the German Democratic Republic. But we celebrated the anniversary of the victory over the Third Reich so that the memory of the past could serve the future; and that, above all, is what I would like to say to your countrymen, and to all those who may read the book.

As to your question on relations with the United States, I cannot think of any dispute which we might have with the American people. We have had good relations with many previous U.S. Governments: Presidents Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford and Carter have all been welcomed in Warsaw.

I will never forget those May days in 1945 when, as a young officer, I chatted with American troops on the Elbe River. We were all so very happy just to have survived, and to be victorious. And we were also convinced that

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this was the last war in Europe. That is an indelible chapter in the history book.

The post-war 40 years have seen periods of advantageous and even friendly co-operation and good relations. That was particularly true in the mid-1970s. I have particularly in mind the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and also many other forms of political, cultural and economic co-operation.

In Poland we deplore the sudden collapse of this process in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and that relations deteriorated to the extent they have. But this is not the place to reflect on the subject. On many issues we certainly differ. Differences, though, are not unique. They are part and parcel of every dialogue.

In my view, the paramount task today is to protect peace as the common, overriding value. But in a much wider sense than, as the classical definition puts it, just the state of no-war. I am convinced that this is still possible and realistic. But it must be rooted in the fundamental principles laid down in the U.N. Charter, the Final Act of the Helsinki Security and Co-operation Conference and in the practical time-tested principles and standards of international relations.

Robert Maxwell: I can think of no one who would quarrel with that definition.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: The risk of war today would be less dangerous were some governments I could think of to act according to what they preach. Let me give just one example. A crucial condition for peace is the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Each country should resolve its problems on its own. Co-operation should be based on equality, respect for the history and contemporary development of a given country and also on mutual benefits. I have already mentioned how these principles have been overturned by the West, where Poland is concerned.

There are many things we do not like about one another. The West takes a critical view of a number of things we do and we in turn are highly critical of certain social and economic practices in the West. After all, there are also numerous factors, both in the West's history and contemporary developments, which, for want of a better word, I could euphemistically call embarrassing. This is particularly (though not uniquely) true of the United States. But these are internal problems. It is not for us to give advice; but equally we can justifiably expect others to leave us alone.

Respect for the basic principle of non-interference must be reinstated; a new page should be turned.

Robert Maxwell: Prime Minister, we are gradually approaching the end of this interview, which has lasted much longer than we planned. I am sure that readers in the West will study what you say with no small interest. The more so because you speak in the name of one of continental Europe's more important countries.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Yes, indeed, we have been talking for a long time and there are still many threads which should now be picked up. I hope you will permit me to summarize what we have said.

Poland is a country with a population of 37 million. A large country by European standards, situated in the heart of Europe. Destabilization in Poland means the threat of destabilization throughout the Continent. Perhaps such a situation inside Poland might serve the purpose of the United States with its global plans to dismantle the whole socialist system.

Please do not suspect me of megalomania. Poland is still recovering. We are still experiencing difficulties. But we are here, physically here, at this point of Europe, as a large, vital, deeply patriotic people and a socialist State. The forty years that the Polish People's Republic has existed have been objectively the most fruitful period in the Polish nation's modern history. The breakthroughs accomplished are there for all to see, as are our epoch-making social advancements in the industrialization and modernization of our country. What Poland, her science and culture have achieved is widely recognized throughout Europe and the world. You are, I am sure, aware of it.

No one may foment a state of tension in Poland and exert stubborn pressure for destabilization with impunity. Sooner or later it would spark off a negative reaction throughout Europe. That is why I claim this is not exclusively Polish problem. Nor is it a purely British one. It is common to the whole of Europe.

Robert Maxwell: I am greatly impressed by what you have said, Prime Minister, and by the sincerity and veracity with which you speak.

Just one short, final, question, if you will permit me to which I hope you will react favourably. Recently the matter of promoting you to marshal's rank has aroused considerable interest. You served your country well during the war and in the time of peace. You are a soldier. A modest person. Under what conditions would you be ready to accept that rank? I am quite sure that many soldiers who served with you would be very happy were you to accept. Many people have told me that your four-star general's rank does not match up to your merits. Could you tell me under what conditions would you be willing to accept?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: First, thank you for the sympathy behind your question. But, frankly, answering it is going to prove more troublesome than when I was speaking on economic matters.

Robert Maxwell: Please excuse my temerity. I quite realize it may not be a question you care to answer. But the whole matter has understandably aroused no small interest throughout the world.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I shall start by saying this is not the first time the matter has come up. On the 30th anniversary of the Polish People's Army, that is in 1973, the then Party leadership suggested that I accept the rank of a marshal. I said I was too young and had not earned the honour. I was only a lieutenant during the war, the commander of a regimental reconnaissance unit, not a

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victorious military strategist like Montgomery, Zhukov or Rokossovski. Moreover, I felt the rank of marshal was not essential to running the Ministry of National Defence.

The issue ricocheted back several times in various forms and at various anniversaries. The observance of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism was the most recent such event. Letters were written to Parliament, to the Council of State and to me personally. War veterans' organizations and local government councils passed special resolutions. I frankly admit I felt highly honoured and also moved. It was a very moving moment for me, as a Pole and as a soldier.

But again I decided that even now it would serve no purpose. True, I am the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, but I no longer command the troops. So it would be very much of an ornamental title and not a rank which would be of real assistance in commanding.

Quite apart from that, I must clearly state that I consider that many complex and difficult problems still face Poland. It would not be proper to create the impression, with such a decoration, that our troubles are over. I can perform my duties satisfactorily with the rank I presently hold. And I also must admit that it is very high when compared with my achievements. I can hardly think of any circumstances which would convince me to change my decision.

Robert Maxwell: Prime Minister, may I offer you my thanks. I was greatly struck by the reasons you have given and I understand the circumstances which prompted you to say "No". I congratulate you for the stand you have taken. But I must say that should I have been consulted on the matter I would have said that a marshal's rank for you would be a good thing for Poland. And for you personally.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: If you will allow me to take it with a grain of humour—let's make it a posthumous award. You have no idea how well a marshal's cap looks on a coffin!

Robert Maxwell: Prime Minister, may I say how really and truly grateful I am for the splendid discussion which we have had. It has allowed me to get to know you so very much better both as a statesman and a soldier.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I, too, would like to thank you warmly once again for having displayed such eager and sympathetic interest in Poland's affairs, particularly in the most recent years, in which we have had to face up to so many problems.

And I also think that this meeting should not be our last. Today it is of a special nature, concerning a book. But I invite you to Poland for a longer stay, perhaps for a holiday. I know that England is a magnificent country, and that you can spend your vacation in many other countries. But Poland, too, has her own beautiful regions—particularly the lakes and the forests where silence and tranquillity abound. And there is not all that much quiet and peace in the world today. You will always be a welcome guest.

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Interview on Polish and international affairs with Robert Maxwell

Declaration made at the meeting of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic — on being appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Statement at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party — the Polish economy.

Speech delivered before the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic — to announce proposals for economic reform.

Proclamation over the national radio and TV networks — on the imposition of martial law and the constitution of the Military Council of National Salvation.

Speech delivered before the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic — the effect of martial law on the people of Poland.

Speech delivered before the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic — the Movement of National Revival.

Address to the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival — the socio-political history of Poland

Speech at the meeting with Pope John Paul II in the Belyedere Palace — peace and reconciliation

Statement at the conclusion of the PUWP Central Committee's 13th Plenary Meeting — social conflicts in the history of Poland.

Address at a celebratory session of the Sejm on the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic — the achievements of the last forty years.